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A Memorial,

OFFERED

TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCESS SOPHIA,

Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover.

A Memorial,

OFFERED

TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCESS SOPHIA,

Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover.

CONTAINING

A DELINEATION OF THE
CONSTITUTION AND POLICY OF ENGLAND:

WITH

Anecdotes concerning remarkable Persons of that Time.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED,

By Permission of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINALS IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT HANOVER.

BY GILBERT BURNET,

32529

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

ae TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

LETTERS FROM BURNET AND LEIBNITZ,

AND FAC SIMILES OF THE HAND WRITING OF THOSE TWO
DISTINGUISHED MEN.

London:

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TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.

SIR,

TRUSTING to the indulgence and condescension of your Royal Highness, which it has been my happiness to experience during a great part of my life, I presume to inscribe to your Royal Highness this Memorial, written by a man highly distinguished in his time, and addressed to a Princess not more illustrious by her birth than by her talents and virtues, the mother of a race of Kings, under whose sway England has attained to an unparalleled degree of prosperity and glory. It may truly be said, what our

author embraced with his hopes and wishes, “ that the Crown of England holds both the scales and sword of Justice between all the powers of Europe.” This powerful influence was, indeed, at no period more strongly and more beneficially felt in the affairs of Europe than at present: which may, perhaps, give an additional interest to this publication, though the work of itself must be allowed, at any time, to possess considerable merit. I claim for myself no praise but that of having with all possible accuracy copied the original for the press: and I rejoice that this affords me an opportunity of laying before your Royal Highness my sentiments of attachment and devotion, which I cannot do better than in the words of my author, saying, that “ I shall ever send up to God my hearty prayers for your Royal Highness’s long life and prosperity.”

Thus I subscribe myself, though not a
Briton, yet with not less loyalty and affec-
tion as an Hanoverian subject,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's ever faithful,

true, and obedient servant,

JOHN GEORGE HENRY FEDER.

Hanover, December 11, 1811.

ADVERTISEMENT

I am desirous of the present publication was given
 entitled, A friend of mine, Dr. Newman
 coming from England, called upon me, and he
 brought on his way through Haverhill and in the
 course of his visit our conversation happened
 upon other things to talk upon the Haverhill
 at Haverhill, of which I was interested with the
 correspondence. As he had not seen the library
 before, he expressed a wish that I should show
 it him, which I accordingly did on the following
 day. One of the objects of curiosity in that
 part, was the manuscript of I think, which was
 printed off there in great numbers, and among these
 I had extensive correspondence with some eminent
 persons in the country. In looking over the manuscript
 collection of papers, which I have retained in the
 original order, I have been much surprised

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE occasion of the present publication was quite accidental. A friend of mine, Dr. NOEHDEN, coming from England, called upon me, last September, on his way through Hanover; and in the course of his visit, our conversation happened, among other things, to fall upon the Royal library at Hanover, of which I am intrusted with the superintendence. As he had not seen the library before, he expressed a wish that I should show it him, which I accordingly did on the following day. One of the objects of curiosity in that library are the manuscripts of LEIBNITZ, which are preserved there in great number; and among them is his extensive correspondence with many eminent persons of his time. In looking on this remarkable collection of papers, some letters from and to the celebrated Bishop BURNET presented themselves;

and this led to my producing a tract, written by the hand of the same Bishop, and addressed by him, under the title of "Memorial to the PRINCESS SOPHIA, Electoress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover." This princess was presumptive heir to the crown of England, and mother of GEORGE I. BISHOP BURNET, known by his attachment to the Protestant interest, and consequently to the succession of the house of Brunswick, opens in this treatise a view of the history, constitution, and policy of England, for the instruction and guidance of the future Sovereign. The information imparted under these circumstances was, from its nature, useful and important, and from the knowledge, experience, and abilities of the writer, likely to be extremely valuable. My friend, on reading a few sentences of the Memorial, and drawing an inference as to the probable merits of the whole from the character and celebrity of the author, thought that a communication of it to the British public would be well received, and suggested the idea of my having it printed and published in London. From what I knew of that manuscript myself, I was easily induced to concur in his notion respect-

ing its value, and felt, for that reason, no reluctance to its publication. Dr. NOEHDEN has subsequently perused the whole with attention, and has seen no ground for changing his opinion.

But it was of course necessary for me to obtain the approbation of Government, that I might print the manuscript in question; and on my application being laid before the PRINCE REGENT, his Royal Highness was graciously pleased to grant the permission I sought for. In the mean time my design had been mentioned to Mr. MAWMAN, Bookseller, in London, who agreed to become the publisher.

I have not thought it necessary to set out with arguing that the Memorial is by the hand of GILBERT BURNET, Bishop of Salisbury, because this appears to be self-evident from the view of the manuscript. It bears at the conclusion the signature G. S., which is to be read GILBERT SARUM, or GILBERT BISHOP of SARUM. The handwriting resembles throughout that in his Letters (added at the end of this volume); one is subscribed GIL. BISHOP of SARUM, and two others

G. SARUM. The style, sentiments, and principles which prevail in the Memorial, would almost of themselves be sufficient to prove the author, even if those other circumstances did not concur to establish the fact: but combined with them, they bring the matter to an absolute demonstration.

In transcribing the manuscript for the press, I have conceived it to be my duty to proceed with all possible exactness. The orthography is rather at variance with modern usage; but I did not think myself at liberty to use my discretion in making any alteration in this respect, even where it seemed unsteady and inaccurate. I judged it to be incumbent upon me to give the work as I found it, bearing, as it were, on every letter and syllable the stamp of the original. This seemed to be due to the authenticity of such a document; and I hope the printer will not neglect what I have carefully observed. There are some singularities in the manner of writing, which I will here notice, viz. *family* for *family*; *revenue* for *revenue*; *government* for *government*; *seven* for *seven*; *therefore*, *wherefor*, for *therefore*, *wherefore*. This precision, to which I

have thought it proper to attend in copying the manuscript was, at the same time, not to be carried to an extreme, so as to retain mere errors of the pen, and such palpable mistakes which there was a moral certainty that the author would have himself corrected if he had perceived them.

The Letters from BURNET and LEIBNITZ which are subjoined, though they are not distinguished by any thing very striking, will, it is hoped, not be deemed uninteresting.

JOHN GEORGE HENRY FEDER.

Hanover, December 13, 1814.

A Memorial,

PRESENTED TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS

PRINCESS SOPHIA,

AND DUTCHESS DOWAGER OF HANOVER.

MADAME,

HIS Excellence the Baron Schutz hath communicated to me, with what favour Your Highness was pleased to accept a small performance of mine this last Summer: which hath layed so great an obligation upon me, that I hold my selfe, for ever, bound to devote and dedicate my utmost services to Your Highness and Your Royal offspring, whom I trust one day to see my Souveraigns.

I doubt not, but that many persons of eminent worth and learning are employing themselves, to give Your Highness an ac-

count of affaires in England: but as to managements of the present administration, I shall be wholly silent: But in humblest wise, I crave leave to lay before Your Highness some matters which do relate to the civil government and common interest of this kingdome, which will be of importance to Your Highness to be known before hand, and I trust (the only scope of my design) be usefull to Yourselfe and Royal progenie in all time coming. For this ende, it will be necessary to divide this memorial into several heads; as first

The ancient constitution of England.

We have from all antiquity been a Monarchy, and from the recess of the Romans, which happened about the beginning of the fourth centurie, we were subdued by the Saxons, who introduced their own forms of civill Government amongst us. Their Kings, neither whilst there were seaven Kingdoms within the Island call'd the Heptarchie, nor after the 8^d seaven Saxon Kingdoms were united under one

Monarch, who was Ebert King of the West Saxons, were ever tyrants, but exercised a legal Government by advice of their Great Councils, call'd in those days by severall names of *Mycel Synods*, *Gemotes*, *Fole Motes* and *Witena Gemotes*, equivalent to our modern Parliaments. Sr Henry Spelman hath wrote two very valuable volumes of these councils, which contain the actes passed in them, from the first original down to Richard the First's dayes since the Conquest. His bookes are printed in columes, Latine on one side and the old Saxon original on the other. The word Parliament came not in use till about the time of the conquest, and signifies, as our best authors do affirm, the selfe same thing as the other Saxon termes before mentioned; that is a parliament or common council of the Kingdome.

For the Crown,

It hath allwayes held the highest and most transcendant authority, as being the Head and Cheife of the whole Nation. It ever

had and still hath, the sole power of the administration at home, and of declaring warr or making peace abroad. All the great officers of state are created by it both Ecclesiastical, civil and Military, by Sea and by Land: and in the Legislature, it is the most Essential Part; for *from the Royal Assent* our lawes receive their sanction. A King or Souveraign Queen of England, is, as I have heard a Reverend Judge upon the Bench affirm it, and 'tis *an antient approved maxim*, armed with the power of doing all the Good, which God Almighty can inspire his or her Royal heart withall; but in this he differs from an absolute unlimited Monarch, THAT HE CAN DO NO WRONG. Such indeed is the bounty of our constitution, that where the crown commandes a thing illegal, the person who executes such command in violation of the lawes, is lyable to be punished even with death its selfe, if the case require it. Instances we have had both of antient and modern date, where the greatest favourites that ever were in England, could not stand it against an impeachment. The Earle of

Strafford in King Charles the firsts dayes was
 a great example: and in my own time, I
 well remember when the present Duke of
 Leedes then Earle of Danby and Lord
 High Treasurer of England, was comitted
 prisoner to the Tower, and there lay severall
 yeares together, notwithstanding that even
 whilst he was in prison, he enjoyed as great
 a share of King Charles the Second's favour
 as ever subject did from his Prince. For
 as there is a *constructive power* in cases of
 high treason, lodged in the parliament, no
 minister of state hath ever been so great,
 but that in time, sooner or later, if they
 have betray'd their trust and abused the
 nation, they have, to the Loss of their ho-
 nours, estates and lives, found the Lawes
too many for them. Thus fell Gaveston and
 the Spencer's under K. Edward the second;
 Michael de Pole and Robert de Vere under
 Richard the second: and those two un-
 fortunate Princes were deprived of their
 Royal state and dignities, and of their lives
 too at last, for their maintaining the exorbi-
 tant practices of those their vile Ministers;
 Tresilian and Belknap, Empson and Dud-

ley, Judges, were given up to the publik vengeance for their illegal exactions upon the English subjects: yet hath it been observ'd that where our princes have been just, their ministers have been allwayes safe; few, if any under Queen Elisabeth's long reign, incurr'd the popular hatred, except the great favourite Robert Dudley Earle of Leicester, whom all good men abhorr'd, as they do to this day detest his memorie. But he dyed before their resentment could take place. Her Secretary Davinson was indeed for particular reasons of state, and by the Queen herselfe cast off; but for the rest employed by her, never was any Ministry more fix't or settled in the world. The reason was, *that in their publick stations they were honest*, and sought apparently both the Queen's and Kingdoms Good, and her Majesty encourag'd them so to do. *Such princes ever shall be well serv'd and the nation easie under them.* In antient time the Barons, that is, the House of Lords, took cognizance of offences of this high nature; but as *their fortunes fell*, the Commons who have risen upon their ruin,

have made bold to begin first with these impeachments. *They* have ever had the power of granting money, and when they could not be gratified, they have found out wayes to *distress the prince*. But where ill nature, private discontent or envy at other mens good fortune who have deserv'd well of the publik, have been the motives, the nation, to my perfect knowledge, hath been readie to flie in the faces of some members of parliament: For their unjust and violent practices of this sort have been detected; and the House of Peers have lately made a most just and honourable report both to the Queen and to the Nation, of the upright behaviour of some honourable personages, whom the malevolence of certain members of the house of Commons would have branded with an ill but very undeserved character. *An honest man never needes be afraid to serve an upright prince:* nor is it certainly reasonable that a worthy, able Minister should undergoe so severe a sentence as to be removed from the person and Councils of the prince for ever, because that it may be six or seaven, or some times one or two mali-

cious hot headed members of the house of commons shall be *out of humour*. We have a phrase or proverb in our English language call'd *Abingdon Lawe*, which is, to hang men first and trie them after.

For the Revenue

to support the dignity of the Crown. It is since the *Alienation of the Crown Landes*, granted and adjusted by the parliament, in such proportion as is requisite: and the people of England never are close fisted to a prince they love. But, being upon this head, I cannot but heartily regrett it, that the Crown which is the Head and Cheife of the nation, should have so little left in it that they can call *their own*, but must be beholden to the parliament even for a maintenance. Our former Kings till Henry the 7th dayes held as their own patrimony at least one 4th part of the landes of England, which with the power of the prerogative and the dependance especially of the regular Clergy upon the Royal bounty, justly made the crown superior to all other in-

terests. These needed very little supply from the subject, but in case of a warr.

'Tis hard to say whither the Nobility or the Clergy stood next in wealth and interest, King Henry the 7th stood most in fear of the Nobility, and therefore he contrived to lessen them, and King Henry the 8th his son made as bold with the Church. I am apt to believe, that the Clergy were by farr superior to the Nobility as well in wealth as number. They both sate in parliament *by Barony*, an antient term as to its primitive signification, which shall be explain'd hereafter. I have not the lists by me of the Lords spiritual and temporal as they sate in parliament before the dissolution in K. Henry the 8th dayes. But as a Bishop of our church lately shewed me an antient picture of the whole parliament sitting in their full formality, the commons with their Speaker standing at the Barr; I counted 26 Abbotts and Priors with 18 Bishops, one whereof was Cardinal Wolsey archbishop of Yorke sitting on the Kings right hand, beside the throne, and Tonstal Bishop of Lincolne then 1st Chan-

cellor of England, waiting behinde his seat with the great seale in his handes ; and but eighteen temporal L^{ds}, two of which only had coronets upon their heads, as the Clergy all of them were mitred, and the King crown'd and scepter'd sitting under the canopy or cloth of state. Could *the balance of land* have been kept *even*, the Government would have undoubtedly so continued. But Henry the 7th who was a wise and wary prince, resolv'd to pull down the Nobility whom he had observ'd too potent for his predecessors ; and his policy as to himselfe was certainly good, had his successors been equally wise. For as he then held all the crown landes which have been since alien'd : he left in his treasure when he dyed, as my L^d Bacon writes, no less than a million and seaven hundred thousand pounds, a sum in those dayes more valluable than at least six times so much now : before which no interest in England could have stood. I can't thinke, he imagin'd that ever his son Henry the 8th would have so profusely spent it, or have made that mighty infraction upon the Clergy : yet

still both the Nobility and Clergy being broken, the Crown might have remain'd superior both to them and the com̄ons, had it maintain'd its own, *and not divested itselfe of its own estate and Royal patrimony.* Since Queen Elisabeths time not less than five hundred thousand pounds *by the year*, hath been given away of the crown landes: that now nothing in a manner's left, but some few houses of pleasure with the forrests, parkes and chaces, that yeild nothing, but are rather a charge. The Commons of England have in a manner engross't all the lands of the Kingdome, and as we say of wilde beastes, that they would destroy mankinde if they knew their own strength, so may it be said of them with relation to Kings and Monarchies. To this indigence of the crown was the late warr cheifly oweing, and there had been undoubtedly an Ende of monarchie; but for the roguerie of Oliver Cromwell who betrayed his own party *and set up himselfe*: and after his death there followed such confusion among pretending parties that made way for the restoration of King Charles the second. I

might here very properly go on with the rest of the *constituent partes of our Legislature, Lords and Commons*: But that the dignity of the princes of the blood Royal justly challenges the precedence.

Princes of the blood Royal.

Among other blessings which we are to expect from Your Highness, we are infinitely happy in this, that You are the fruitfull Mother of a numerous offspring of gallant princes. I hope one day to see them all dignified and distinguished by English titles. Their precedence by *their birth only* will be before all the other nobility; and the most eminent employments and commands next under the crown will naturally be their share. The most prolific prince we ever had was King Edward the third, who had seaven sons, besides severall daughters, and their titles and order in discent stood thus:

1) Edward prince of Wales, *Duke of Cornwall* and Earle of Chester.

- 2) William of Hatfeild who dyed young without being proclaim'd by any title.
- 3) Lionell Duke of Clarence.
- 4) John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster.
- 5) Edmund of Langley Duke of Yorke.
- 6) William of Windsor who dyed young.
- 7) Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester.

I choose rather to sett these titles in order before Your Highness by reason that they are all now vacant, *and the title of Yorke to be conferr'd upon the second son seemes to me not so proper*, for the following reasons. First it was in my own memory *very unpopular*, as it was born by the late King James in his brother King Charles the second's dayes. Besides *it is not the antient title due to the King's second son*: For the persons not well vers't in our English history will have it, that Yorke was elder son than Lancaster, 'tis a gross mistake. For Yorke, as apperes above, was but the 5th son, and Lancaster the 4th. Thus in truth came their pretence. Lionell Duke of Clarence left one only daughter married to Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, by

whom she had Roger Mortimer who left Edmund Mortimer: He dyed without issue, as also his brother Roger and Sister Elianor, leaving Anne their Sister sole heiress. This Anne was married to Richard Earle of Cambridge, son of Edmond of Langley Duke of Yorke: and in right of this princess, the innocent cause of all those destructive warres between the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, did that of Yorke claim the right of proximity of blood, which the other could never brook; that the descendants of Edmund Mortimer should carry away the crown from them, who were superior in their discent of the male line.

King Henry the 4th created *his second son* Thomas Duke of Clarence: and so did King Edward the 4th conferr the same upon his *next brother* George Duke of Clarence, since whose time it hath not been born. *But I do affirm it to be the elder title, and therefore the more proper for the next brother to the prince.*

For the title of Lancaster, for a third son; it hath never been conferred since

King Henry the fourths dayes ; but hath with the antiently great and powerfull dutchie of that name, been annexed to, and remain'd in the crown. It was perhaps too great a patrimony for any subject, altho' a prince of the blood, to hold. But the winges of it have been sufficiently clipp't and the landes sent after the rest of the crown estate ; wherfore I can see no reason why it may not at this day safely be conferr'd upon a legitime son of the crown. I have heard that the late Marquess of Worcester did pretend to it. But King Charles the 2^d gratified him with another title more suitable to his pretence, which was that of Duke of Beaufort, who as he derived from the left hand side of John of Gaunt, by Catharine Swinford, first the mistress and afterwards the wife of that prince : so the present famuly of Beaufort are from John de Beaufort Duke of Somerset, who by his Dutchesse left a lawful daughter call'd Margaret Countess of Richmond mother of King Henry the 7th. But he had by an obscure woman named Joan Hill a natural son, Charles, created by King Henry 7th

Earle of Worcester, from whom the house of Worcester, now Dukes of Beaufort, are discended. The present Duke beares both the arms and crest of the house of Lancaster: but there runnes a gobbonetted border round their escutcheon and the baton sinister left off but by the late Dukes father.

The titles of Yorke and Gloucester remain then in the order above mentioned.

But! to our great joy, we understand that Your Highness hath a Grandson, a noble prince, grown up to Mans estate already. We have had no such happyness in all our history. King Edward the third had indeed a grandson: but he was a childe call'd Richard of Bourdeaux, because there borne. The title he will be distinguish't by, *in case Your Highness attain the crown and the prince his father be at the same time living*, must be Duke of Cornwall. But a question will arise, whither he shall sitt in parliament as a peer, by that title or no? and I am afraid, not; *the title of Duke of Cornwall being inherent to the person of the Prince of*

Wales. Some addition must be made him by creation. I pray God Your Highness may live, by Your own Royal authority to decide the point.

Daughters of the King and Queen are call'd *Princesses of the blood*: and next to sons have all that is inheritable, *in them*, from the crown. ..

Natural sons even of the King have no manner of right, title, nor precedence in England: but are in Lawe accounted *nul-lus filii*, till the crown vouchsafes them some title by creation. Of these we have and have had, but too many.

Peccage.

The antient Baronage, by which word I understand the Peccage of England, was by Tenure*. Where a man held of Landes in *Soccage* antiently twentie pounds by the year, he was said to hold a Knights Fee,

* 1st Cokes 1st Institutes, folio 69.

and this was in those times an estate sufficient to support the degree and equipage of a Knight. He that held twelve of these Knights Fees and the third part of a Knights Fee, was said to hold *per Baroniam*, and should have claim'd his seat as a Peer in parliament, his revenue to support it amounting to 400 markes by the year. An Earldome was to consist of twentie Knights Fees, vallue 400 pounds per annum. A Duke, the vallue of two Earldomes at 800^l per annum. The first Dukes we had in England from the conquest till Edward the thirds dayes, were Edward the Black Prince and his brothers before mention'd, *who were all created in parliament*. We had no such title of honour as a Marquess, till Richard the 2^d dayes, who created Robert de Vere Marquess of Dublin and Duke of Ireland: and from thenceforth a Marquesses estate was computed at two baronies, amounting to 800 markes by the year. The same King also created the first Baron by pattent, who was John Beauchamp de Holt Baron of Kederminster. A viscount was of later date, not known among us till Henry the

6th dayes, who first created the L^d Bellomonte a viscount. The word *comes* signifying an Earle was, it seemes, originally derived *a comitundo*, as being a fit companion for the King; and when an Earle was absent, a viscount might be thought worthy, who therefore was allowed to take place of a Baron.

The coronetts worn by the Nobility at the coronation, and born by them over their coats of armes, do all varie according to their severall degrees of nobility: where 'tis observable that the Barons had none allowed them till King Charles the 2^d time.

All Bishops antiently sate in the house of peers by Baronic, that is by holding a full and entire Barony in right of their Sees. And so the great miter'd Abbots and Priors *the same in right of their houses**. My L^d Coke sayes, that there sate of these, twentie seaven Abbots and two Priors, as appears by the parlia^t Rolls. But all this noble

* Id: Ibidem, folio 97.

Oeconomie in the state was ruin'd *by the statute of Alienation*, under King Henry 7th as the church fell under Henry the 8th; and the crown landes have been confounding ever since. The commons therfore have in a manner all the land and trade too among them.

Peers of England are now made by patent of creation from the crown, no fix't estate as formerly being requisite for their qualification. They are still distinguish't by the titles of Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts and Barons, Lords of parliament all of them of equall power and vallue as to their vote and suffrage there. Some of them at this day have great and noble estates, some moderate, some little, and some none at all: yet are and must be *conciliarii nati* of the Kingdome; their estates and power entitled them to it heretofore; but, now *altri tempi, altri costumi*.

The unfortunate principle which the crown went upon from King Henry 7ths dayes, was to destroy the Nobility. My

Lord Bacon justly blames that King for his immoderate persecuting and destroying the house of Yorke. When he won the Kingdom by his sword at Bosworth feild, he found imprison'd by King Richard the third, the young Earle of Warwick, who was son to George Duke of Clarence and Grandson, by his mother, to the great Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick and Salisburie. This unfortunate young prince was kept in prison from his infancie, till he was old enough, for reasons of state, to be cut off. For when the match was proposed between Prince Arthur eldest son to King Henry 7th with Catharine daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella of Castile, the Spanish King demanded, whither there was not a legitimate heir of Yorke alive? And whither the s^d Earle of Warwick were of that house? This was the occasion, why the poor young gentleman was more closely confin'd and strictly look't to. In time appear'd that arch impostor Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be one of the sons of King Edward the 4th. But the world well knew that both that Kings sons had been made away by their

unnatural Unkle Richard the 3^d. Their bodies were by accident dug up in the Tower and found in an old wooden chest within these 30 yeares: King Charles the 2^d had them solemnly buried at Westminster and a tomb set over them. This Perkin Warbeck found the fate of an impostor, was beaten, taken and for some time kept prisoner in the Tower of London. Here he was allow'd access to the Earle of Warwick, who was a *true Plantaginet*, which the other only counterfeited*. These two plotted in the Tower *the thing they were put together for*, and contriv'd the Earle's escape. For this and other his former treasons Perkin was hang'd at Tyburne; and the Earle brought to his tryal by his Peers at Westminster. The poor creature was but young, and his crime truly weighed *Not treason*. But being utterly ignorant of all manner of proceedings he was told that when he should be asked whither he were guiltie or not guiltie, he must say guiltie, and then the King *might* pardon him! This he did: but

* Ld Bacons Hist. II. 7th.

all the mercy he found was to lose his head, and with it the mightiest estate that ever any subject enjoy'd in England. The Earle of Oxford of that time sate as L^d. High Steward to judge him: and it hath been observed, that the family never prosper'd after it. For K. H^y 7th fell upon this very Earle of Oxford*, and for a trifle fin'd him 16000 markes, which neither he nor his posterity ever recovered, but decayed from time to time, till the last Earle of Oxford, who dyed without any legitimate heire male but two months since, left not one foot of land behinde him in the world: and the honour which had continued in the name from Maud the Empress, is become extinct. This last Earle of Warwick had a sister who was Countess of Salisburie, whom K. Henry the 8th cut off by bill of attainder in parliament without other tryall, together with the Marchioness of Exeter, in their extream old age, for no other reason, as Sr Walter Rawleigh says†, but because they were his

* Idem.

† See the pref. to Rawl's Hist. of the World.

cousins. In Henry the 7th dayes there fell but three peers of England by the axe, who were the aforsaid Earle of Warwick, S^r William Stanley Earle of Darby who had actually set the crown upon this Kings head in the very feild of battle at Bosworth, and the L^d Audley for the rebellion of the Cornish men. The Earle of Darby had, it seems, let fall some words: that if he really thought the sonns of K. Edward the 4th to be alive, he would not drawe his sword against them. For which, tho he had married Margaret Countess dowager of Richmond the Kings own mother, he was not spared. But his famuly found so much favour as to be restored, the others never. De la Pool Earle or rather Duke of Suffolke, sisters son to King Edward the 4th, found the same fate. For tho he fled the Kingdom, K. H. 7th pursued him to the block; tho it happen'd not till his son K. H. 8th dayes. The story how and why he was apprehended at Brussells, is related at large in my L^d Bacon's History of H. 7th.

King Henry the Fifth not weighing his

Father's policy in the matter, but to satiate his own boisterous humour, made havock of the Nobility. A late English historian* sayes that he cut off two Queens; two Cardinals, (for Pool stood condemned tho not apprehended) [He might have added Cardinal Wolsey whom he frighted to death] three Dukes; Marquesses; Earles and Earles sonns twelve; Barons and Knights eighteen; and of Bishops, Abbotts, Priors and Monkes no less than seaventie seven. Even a succinct account of their names and families would be tedious. Only the great Duke of Buckingham I can't omitt, whose name was Edward Stafford, of the blood Royal, lineally discended from the only daughter of Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester 7th son to K. Edward 3^d†. The history of this house would require a treatise of its self. For he was a most noble and potent prince. His case was very hard from King Henry's handes; but I contemplate in it the just judgments of God

* Sr Winston Churchill, fol. 297.

† See Dugdales Baronage, fol. 156, vol. 1st.

Almighty, whose justice was not satisfied with the death of this Dukes father: *but visited the iniquity and treason of his house, to the third and fourth generation.* He was the cheife instrument, for private reasons of his own, in murdering those two innocent princes, K. Edward the 5th and his brother Richard Duke of Yorke, sonns to K. Edward the 4th. He set their Unkle Rich^d the 3^d to do the fact, and obtain'd from Richard both the Earledom of Hereford and the great office belonging to it of L^d High Constable of England. Then he plotted against Richard and brought over Henry Earle of Richmond to destroy him; and had he not been himselfe intercepted and executed, his design could be no other than to have fallen upon the Earle of Richmond, when he should have destroyed Richard, and to have married his son, this very Edward, to the Lady Elizabeth, the only surviving daughter of Edward the 4th; and so have settled the crown in his own family. *But that part of the plott miscarrying,* the Earle of Richmond got the better of Richard, and married her himselfe.

This was King Henry the 7th; and from this match, which united the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster, does Your Highness and the rest of the Royal family derive at this day. But the causes of this Dukes fall were different. For King Henry the 8th pursued his mistaken policy against the Nobility to his last. Nine dayes before he dyed he took off the head of the noble Earle of Surrye, and the Duke of Norfolke his father lay at the same time under sentence, the warrant being sign'd for his execution. But the very morning whereon he was to suffer, news was brought to the Tower, that the King himselfe was dead. And in that case a prisoner under sentence is by the bounty of our comon lawe respited, till the pleasure of the next successor be known.

In King Edward the 6th and in Queen Mary's dayes, both rose and fell, the two potent houses of Edward Seymor Duke of Sommerset, and of John Dudley Duke of Northumberland. They were both of them in after time restored. The first now flourishes, and for the present Duke of

Somerset, he is a most noble and worthy personage. The other is, God be praised, extinguished. I can not remember them but with horror and detestation, notwithstanding that they were highly favoured by Queen Elisabeth. A book call'd Leicester's commonwealth displayes them fully. But the family the most pittied of any that fell in those dayes, was that of Henry Grey Duke of Suffolke and Marquess of Dorset, with his daughter the innocent Lady Grey, who without consent on her part had been proclaim'd Queen of England. This Dukes treason for which he dyed, was none other, than his opposing the match between Queen Mary and King Phillip the 2^d of Spain. He rose in arms, but was worsted and had his head struck off together with his gallant brother the L^d Grey. We have a noble Earle at this day living, who derives from a brother of this Duke, and should be Marquess of Dorsett, could the s^d Dukes attainer be revers't.

In the 10th of Queen Elizabeth hap-
pened the rebellion of the Earles of West-

morland and Northumberland upon pretence of restoring the Romain Catholik religion; but in truth to favour the cause of Mary Queen of Scotts, then prisoner in England. Northumberland was taken and executed at Yorke; but his landes were so settled as not to incur a forfeiture; and her Maj^{tie} was so gracious as to restore his family to their honours. Westmoreland fled, and all he had was seized and never more restored, neither in blood, nor in estate which was prodigious. Thomas duke of Norfolk fell about 13 years after, under the same Queen and for the cause of the Queen of Scotts. Their family was not restored till K. Charles the 2^ds time: only they sate in the house of L^{ds} as Earles of Arundel, which the son of this last mention'd Duke enjoy'd as heire to his mother, who was heiress to Fitz-Allan Earle of Arundel.

In King James the first's dayes we had few if any of the Nobility executed; only the weake L^d Cobham lost his whole estate which was given to the Duke of Richmond.

The death of that learned and gallant gentleman Sir Walter Rawleigh was the greatest blott upon King James his clemencie.

But in the following civil warr in K. Charles the firsts dayes wherein the Nobility sided cheifly with the crown, there perish't many of them; besides the famous Earle of Darby, Duke of Hamilton, Earle of Holland and L^d Capell; who were executed by the rebels. The King likewise made profuse creations of Nobility at Oxford during the warr, and gave English titles there to such gentlemen of merit as then followed his fortunes, whose posterities both then and since have and do still want estates to support their honours.

I remember no peer executed by King Charles the second but the old L^d Stafford for the popish plott in the year 1680. My good L^d Russell was no peer, his father the Earle of Bedford being then living; nor Colonel Algernon Sidney. The Earle of Essex dyed in the Tower by the Knife and not by the axe.

Under King James the second, the last Earle of Macclesfeild stood condemn'd as L^d Brandon Gerrard, but was spared ; and the late L^d Delamere was by good management acquitted before his peers.

None have been executed since ; but the debauch't and loose way of living wholly in London, neglecting their estates and interests in the country, their monstrous gaming and *that bottomless pitt their mistresses* have confounded and brought our nobility very lowe. By the misfortunes before mentioned, and these latter practices have our nobility sunke : and by their fall accrued the rise of

The Commons of England.

These are the whole body of the people, to be distinguish't into Baronetts, Knights, Esqs, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Yeomen and the very common people of the lowest denomination. We have commoners of 6, 7, 8, some few we have or late have had of ten thousand pounds by the year.

But from five thousand to three hundred pound a year we have multitudes; and wealthie citizens who frequently marry their daughters into the nobility with 40, 50, nay we have had some and that but lately who have had 100,000^l to their portions. Here lyes the wealth of England, and the city of London is the center of it; able to advance the crown, upon a parliamentary security, two millions of money, (I'm sure I speake modestly) at a weekes warning. If they knew their own strength, as was said before, I know not what single person upon earth could govern them. Country gentlemen may be wise in managing their estates, or may divert themselves with hunting, drinking or feasting among their neighbours; citizens may be cunning and take good care in their shopps and warehouses, as they are usually in these respects, sharp enough; but God be thanked, *all are not cut out to be statesmen*. When they had the power in their handes after Cromwell dyed, they knew not what to do with it; but acted like so many mad men: their proceedings were so irregular, that little is left in writing

of what they did ; only we have a valluable English poet call'd Hudibrass, who in his second canto of his third and last part very pleasantly describes both the men and their actions, and is by all that I can hear, the truest Historian of the affairs of England from the death of Cromwell to King Charles his restoration. I cann't forbear three or 4 lines of him. He sayes then, that

As many handes dispatch apace
And make light worke, the proverb sayes,
So many different *intellects*
Are found, t'have contrary effects,
And many heads t'obstruct intreagues
As slowest insects have most leggs.

I know the genius of the English nation too well, to beleive that ever a commonwealth can by any possibility be settled among us. We *won't* be govern'd by one another, and therefore *must* have a sovrain to rule over us. Abuses from our Governours may and have caused violent convulsions and alterations among us ; yet still we have allwayes settled upon the old bottom.

Having spoken of all the partes of the Kingdome seperately, I will now bring them into one collective body which is call'd

The Parliament,

in which body consists the highest, most supream and in one word, *the legislative authority of the Kingdom.* The crown here is *the first and cheife*, secondly the house of Lcrds both spiritual and temporal, and thirdly the Commons by their Representatives, who are call'd Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, with some few Barons of the Cinque ports, who are in effect but burgesses. By these are all our lawes made, the crown having a negative voice. For that no order of either House is valluable as a lawe, nor of both together, without *the Royal Assent.* But as I have spoken to the crown and L^{ds}, i will say somthing to and of

The House of Commons.

Their great priviledge is, their power of

raising money upon the subject: yet still by and with the advice and consent of the L^ds spiritual and temporal, and the crown assenting. The whole house consists of 513 members chosen for counties, cities and burroughs. 'Tis a sort of a paradox to say, that they are too many, and yet too few. The thing is, that some counties do send up too many, and too few come out of others, by which means the Nation is very unequally represented: and some burroughs who have not five beggarly houses belonging to them, do yet send as many Burgesses to represent them in parliament, as the largest counties in England do Knights. The method of elections in most places is very mercenarie, notwithstanding all lawes both old and new to the contrary: and the manner of determining controverted elections in the House of Commons, hath, and especially of late years, been a perfect scandal to the nation. The justest thing done by the long parliament and by Cromwell too, was the settling the number of representatives according to the proportion of taxes that each county payed to the

publick charge. I know not how this can be ever brought to a juster poise, but by uniting the Kingdoms of Scotland and of Ireland into one entire body of a Senate with that of England; a thing not impracticable, if honestly endeavoured. 'Twill be, I hope, reserv'd to make the glory of Your Highnesses reign.

Wales

was a dangerous back door to England till it was so united: and that union is no longer agoe than King Henry the 8ths reign. For 13 knights and 13 burgesses sent up to parliament from Wales, and some few Peers created among them, with eight Judges to hold the assizes and to administer justice according to the lawes of England and laudable customs of antient time used in Wales, we have been quiet upon the borders ever since. Their gentry have come up to parliament, and the church and state been fill'd in the best and highest stations with persons out of that country, who by means of an education given them in England have

been eminently usefull as well as ornamental to the nation; whereas their forefathers were more than halfe savages, as the Wild Irish and Highland Scotts are to this day.

I have thus attempted to lay before Your Highness the Fort and the Foible of our constitution. Some thing further I have in all humility to offer by way of Remedie: but can not do it in a due light without a retrospect to the five last reigns.

The breach made in our antient ballance as to landes, came not to be visible, at least to common observation till King James the firsts dayes: Queen Elizabeth and her council could not but know it. Her policy therefore was, to caress *the people*; by all imaginable artes to become popular, that in a manner she wholly neglected the Nobility. This so raised the House of Commons that, as a great author* sayes, her successors have ever since look't pale upon those assemblies:

* Mr. James Harrington, pag. 70th, the last edition of Oceana.

nor was there any thing wanting to the destruction of the throne, but that the people not apt to see their own strength should be put to feel it; when a prince as stiff in disputes, as the nerve of Monarchie was slack, received that unhappy encouragement *from his clergy*, which became his utter ruin, while trusting more to their *Logick*, than the *rough philosophy of his parliament*, it came to an irreparable breach. For the House of Peers which alone had stood in this Gap, now *sinking down between the King and the Commons*, show'd that *Crassus* was dead and the *Isthmus* broken. But a monarchy divested of its Nobility hath no refuge under heaven but an army: wherfore the dissolution of this government caused the warr, not the warr the dissolution of this government.

This author is Mr. James Harrington, a person of very deep learning and observation; but as this his book call'd *Oceana* was calculated wholly for the meridian of a Commonwealth, I hold the reprinting both of his and Miltons workes to be very ill done, at this time, and dangerous, especially

to persons of unsound principles or judgment. I am sure the Royal family hath very little obligation to *the publisher*. Their projects of a Commonwealth are, God be prais'd for't, vanish't: what remains for every good Englishman to endeavour, is, to maintain the Monarchy upon its antient basis, to render the crown what's its due, and since a monarchy cannot subsist without a nobility, to have a just regard for and towards the persons and order of the House of Peers. For the commons of England, of which I am my selfe a part, and never hope to be other, I ever wish them a just *and rational Liberty*, both as to their consciences and properties. Great mistakes we have had on all sides among us, which have brought the severest calamities upon the nation. 'Tis now a full hundred years that we have been fluctuating *from one expedient to another*, and to my poor judgment all parties who have in their turn been uppermost, have gone beside the marke.

Failures of the five last Reigns.

King James the first, whose memory I

will treat with all respect and decencie, came to the crown of England a meer stranger: he had a great affliction for his own countrymen, and was too much managed by his favourites. Among these he squander'd away almost the whole estate of the crown, fondly imagining to maintain his goverment by the prerogative, when he had parted with his own Royal patrimony. This put the crown even in his dayes upon setting up *Monopolies*, and other unwarrantable wayes of raising money. But the great failures of his reign were principally these two: *His neglecting affairs abroad, wherein the crown of England ever did, and I trust to God, ever will, hold, both the scales and sword of justice between all other powers of Europe.* The misfortunes of the Palatinate I will forbear more than just to mention, as being a matter too near and tender to Your Highness. But God be thanked that for a Kingdom lost by England, *the Kingdom of England is its selfe become now the recompence.*

The other great failure of King James the first, was his complaisance in his latter dayes to the papists and that interest. It

never could proceed from his judgment, but his ambition to marry his only surviving son prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain, of which many and long accounts have been written. But upon the going off of that match, to engage with a daughter of France, the natural enemies both to the religion and civil interests of our nation, was a fatal stroke in politicks as ever was struck in any Kingdom. With the compleating of this match ended the reign of King James the first, and began that of

King Charles the first.

I have heard a story of the old Earle of Dover, whose name was Carey, that as he came to court about *these* times, some of the young gentlemen rallied him and cried, here comes Queen Elizabeths cousin, which indeed he was on her mothers side. His L^d, not apt to speake much, pleasantly made answer, I wish you could shew me *one of Queen Elizabeths counsellors*. Happy it had been for K. Char. the 1st, if any of these had been alive, or that he had been advis'd by

those *few good ones* left him by his father. For, the court of England now was become frenchified : not only their garbe, but their policies, interests and religion too, became *à la mode*.

This reign began in great necessities, and to supply them, extraordinary courses must be taken. Parliaments were thought dangerous, and by the example of the Kings of France, ours resolv'd to summon them as seldom as they could. Abuses dayly, and dangers from poperie invaded us. The Queen apparently had the ascendant ; and by her *and her interest* all the ministers of state were made.

When parliamentary aides fail'd, *Monopolies*, *Loanes* and *Ship Money* were set up and forc't upon the nation : but resisted, and the thing brought to tryall before the Courts of Justice, where some judges were in their opinions *against the King*. The *clergy* with Archbishop Laud at the head of them were *the most violent assertors* of these exorbitances of the crown.

Church, High Church, and Churchmen.

Two famous Divines call'd Dr. Sybthorpe and Dr. Mainwaring, preach't up *the Loan*, and from the text, *Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's*, they inferr'd, that the Loan was a tribute due to Caesar, that is the King, and whosoever refused to pay it, did incur the penalties of high treason in this world, *and those of damnation in the next*. Their sermons were very takeing at court, and from thence sent over to the good Archbishop Abbot who was yet living, to be licenced for the press, not by his Graces chaplains as usually, but under his own hand. His L^{ty} thought good to peruse them first; and made his own report to his Majesty, wherein he told the King plainly, that if this doctrine were true, he fear'd that neither he himselfe, nor any other subject in England, had any thing which they could call *their own*; and that he knew not what the consequence of such notions and proceedings might tend to, especially, *if a par-*

liament should ever meet again. This advice was so very *unpleasing*, that the good old Archbishop was not only *forbid the court*, but ordered to leave his own house at Lambeth, and to go live at Croiden, another seat belonging to his See. But this being thought to be too near London, he had further order to retire to a place call'd Holt, among the fens and marshes of Kent, which was, as the poor man complain'd himselfe, the way to kill him, as he soon after dyed of old age and greife together.

And now the famous Bishop Laud attein'd to and mounted the chair of Canterbury. I have heard my own father relate it, that he had it from the mouth of old Sr William Armourer, who was of King James the first's court, being there bred up from a page, that His Majestic, as Laud, then only Bishop of St Davids, walked by, but at some distance, took prince Charles by the arme, and in his Scottish dialect said to him: *Son, kenn you yon knave Laud? He has a restless hede; and G'ive ye, let him e're rise higher, he'r nere ha done, till he has lost his awn hede*

and endanger'd yours: a prediction which prov'd fatally true to both. 'This man drove *Jehu like*: he set up all manner of pomp in the church, enjoin'd the surplice, bowing at the name of Jesus, altars, ceremonies, and seem'd to be returning back again to poperie. Those that made the least objection, were term'd *Puritans*, against whom he rais'd so violent a persecution, that vast numbers of them left the Kingdome, and one particular colony, at this time very flourishing, went as far as into America, and there planted themselves and call'd their country **NEW ENGLAND**.

The high Commission court was in those dayes of great authority, and was compounded originally of good elements, as my L^d Bacon sayes of it: but the excessive streining up of its jurisdiction, by imprisoning, whipping, pillorying and fincing men beyond their abilities, brought it *into hatred*, that 'twas at last suppress't by act of parliament.

The Bishop of Lincolne Dr. Williams,

who had been L^d Keeper of the Great Seal of England*, the most intimate counsellor and, so to term it, Confessor to King James the first, was by Lauds means condemned in this court for words pretended to have been by him spoken, in the sum of ten thousand pounds, and to remain in prison till he payed it: his own estate together with the temporalities of his Bishoprick, and all his other church preferments were sequestred: his goods and moveables, to his very library, seized; and he lay many years a prisoner in the Tower of London, till the long parliament sate down; and then the house of Lords reclaimed and set him at liberty, at the same time restoring him to his seat in parliament. It is remarkable that this worthy Bishop of Lincoln was the person who first raised up Laud to be bishop of S^t Davids in King James his dayes, and was then his great freind and patron. *But ambition hath no bounds, reason nor gratitude.*

* See Bishop Williams his life written by Dr. Hacket, Bishop of Cov. and Litchfield.

High Church.

Archbishop Laud may be look't upon as the father of the high Churchmen : these are to this day *High Flyers*, men that soar above the simplicity of their own profession, and love to be meddling in state affairs ; for which as their education and calling do not qualifie them, so hath it been ever observed, that their management hath prov'd destructive to those princes who have trusted them *with too much confidence*. And it hath been visibly apparent, that their asserting with so much vigour *this absolute and unlimited power in the crown*, hath been for this only reason, that they might from thence take the president* of tyranizing over the rest of their fellowe subjects. It came, it seemes, in those dayes to *Jack Gentleman*, a term used by the *Laudaeen faction in derision* to the nobility and gentry of England. The great preferments of the church are in the crown : wherfore churchmen are fore't

* The word is thus written in the original MS. : it should undoubtedly be *precedent*.

to make their court there for their advancement. And 'tis from hence that all those flatteries have sprung, which have brought to the *ruin of the Royal family*. Our King hath been by them and their partizans perswaded, that they might act and do as they pleased, by their own *absolute power*. Passive obedience and Non resistance hath been preach't up to the people ever since King James the seconds time: and He poor man perswaded that 'twas the receiv'd opinion of all church of England men: but it seemes, he said it afterwards in France, that *he'd ne're believe so more*.

For King Charles the first, he was certainly as good a Christian and as good a man as lived. But as he gave himselfe up to be govern'd by the Queen, she would employ no body, being herselfe a papist, *but those of her own communion*, or such who at least favour'd it, and would act in concert with her *for that interest*. This was the ruin of the Rochelle business, to the everlasting reproach both of our church and nation.

In this manner things went on till about the year 1639 ; and then *the Irish*, who had not been reduced to obedience full 40 years, finding a popish party so prevalent in the court of England, made bold to rise, *as they are allwayes readie for it* ; and in one weekes time, cut the throats of above a hundred thousand protestants. The Scotts of the same time fearing the danger, and provok't by Archbishop Laud's meddling with their Kirke, and pretending to impose the new service book upon them, marched to the English borders with an army ; which put the King under a necessity after 13 years disuse to call a parliament, which sate down in the year 1640. Two egregious faultes were here committed in politicks, the one in having no parliament for so many years together ; the other, which was much the greater, was the giving the Royal assent to an act for their sitting as long as they pleased, when the nation was already provok't and in so high a ferment. *From this one thing* may be dated King Charles his death and ruin. The King incensed *by the insolence of the Commons*, leaves London, and

soon after it settes up his standard at Nottingham, and so began the warr, which had a bloody progress and a *traiterous* dismal ending. The warr lasted eight years; and from the *murther of the King* to the restoration there pass't 12 more, which for distinction's sake are usually call'd

The Times,

wherein were exhibited all the scenes and partes of hypocrisie, cruelty, tyranny, nonsense, knaverie, that ever the world heard of, or was plagued with.

King Charles the 2^d.

But upon the restoration the scene was altered with a wittness. Instead of formal Godlyness, we had downright debaucherie. The three nations were even ravished with joy for the Kings return, and so continued to take their ease for eighteen years together, till we were alarm'd by the popish plott in the year 1678. The elder and more considering sort, had their speculations long

before, especially from the alliances we made, the breaking of the tripple league, and the Dutch warr that followed. His Royal Highness the Duke of Yorke about the same time, declares himselfe a papist: and the Dutchess of Portsmouth with the French Ambassadors in due season appear in the court of England as *Premier Ministres*, a thing taken notice of even in parliament in the year 1680. These things were now observ'd by every body, and our fears encreas't upon the suddain dissolution of the parliament two years before, which had continued for 18 years together. I can well remember that King Charles the second never could get another House of Commons to his minde. He dissolv'd the next that was chosen in 6 months time, after which came the Westminster parliament, that would have excluded the Duke of Yorke, and that being dissolv'd after one session, another parliament was summon'd to meet at Oxford, which lasted but six dayes, and was with great displeasure dissolv'd at the barr of the house of Lords: and the King with three persons more with

him in the coach may be said in a manner to have fled away to Windsor. I have heard it with great confidence reported, that the good old prince Rupert joining him there next day, made hold to give him his own, and told him in plain English: *S^r, by God's Sacrament, you'l ne're have done following your fathers courses till you come to the same misfortune.* However his M^{tie} got safe to London and no insurrection happen'd.

From this time we took leave of all thoughts of a future parliament. For when the three years were expired when by the lawe they should have mett; the judges, *men in those dayes fitted for the purpose*, told the King, that it was just as his Majestic pleased; and so we never had any more during his reign. In the mean time all that had any regard to their countries good, lamented: but! complaints were soon improv'd to treason; and the lives of my L^d Russell, Sidney and others pay'd for it, with the imprisonment, hazard and ruin of many others. For a revennue, the King had enough granted him by his former par-

liament, and therefore there was no necessity to use violence upon that account. But the rest of his proceedings shewed, that it was *an absolute despotic power* he aim'd at. Nothing was agreeable at court, like those who came to *surrender chartars or brought abhorring addresses*. Affairs abroad went all wrong. For as the King was Guarantee of the peace of Nimeguen, we suffered the French to lopp off Strassboursgh from the Empire and to take Luxemboursgh without so much as crying *Halt*. But instead of it some noble English volunteers went to signalize themselves at the seidge. And 'twas observable that the French King being at Chantilly just before his armies march't for Flanders upon that expedition: he was made acquainted that severall young English noblemen waited, who desir'd the honour to kiss his Majesties hand. They were no sooner introduc't, but the King told them: *Ho, Messieurs Anglois! il y a de l'honneur à gagner devant Luxemboursgh*. My L^d Cornburie, L^d Orlbmondly, and Mr. Howard son to the late Earle of Carlisle were the persons; of whom the latter dyed

in the bed of honour at the seidge. The two others are yet living. The French made themselves masters of more places and countries during the peace, and under the umbrage of our guaranty, than if the warr had continued. At home, the Duke of Yorke, after his return from Scotland, rul'd all and carried every thing at last, to that height, that the King grew jealous and uneasie, and ordered his Highness again for Scotland: one months time was allowed to prepare his equippage, and before that expir'd, King Charles the second dyed, the Duke of Montmouth not being in England.

King James the 2^d

had now no difficulty to ascend the throne; and how obnoxious so ever he had been to the nation before, all was now quiett, and he was address'd to from all parts. He made bold by his own authority to continue the receiving of the excise and customs, duties which were then expl'd by King Charles his death; and now his first parliament sate down.

'Tis very rare that any King or Queen of England, *at their first accession*, faile of a kinde parliament. This even to King James the 2^d, who had been universally hated, gave a great nay a greater revenue than to King Charles his brother. They stood by him against the Duke of Montmouth and Argyle, who now made their rebellions both in England and in Scotland, and when *their heads* were taken off, *unlike* appear'd nothing in the three Kingdoms that could oppose the court.

The King not content with his own chappell to be publickly opened, set up the Jesuits school in the Savoy, built two monasteries, one near Smithfeild and the other in Lincolns Inn feildes, besides diverse other chappells, where mass was publickly celebrated in diverse parts of the town. But this was not sufficient without bringing the universities into the power of the Roman Catholicks; Magdalen colledge in Oxford therefore was against all lawe and reason seized into their handes. Bishops and Judges were made of the *meanest and most*

scandalous persons of their profession. The cheife Justice Jefferies, by this time made L^d Chancellor, had been more cruell than a butcher. His Majesty now thought fit to declare *for a dispencing power*, the consequence of which must soon have been, that the same power which could have dispenced with the lawes in being, might have enacted new ones; and then Adieu to all the rights and liberties of Englishmen.

In Ireland the popish party prevail'd wholly, a Lord Lieutenant of that religion, Richard Earle of Tyrconnell, being sent over.

In England, notwithstanding that our pulpits had for severall years sounded forth the beloved doctrines of *passive obedience* and *non resistance*; yet now the storm was like to fall upon *themselves*, the Ch. of England divines began to look about them, especially since we had the prospect of a prince of Wales approaching, who was to be bred up in the popish religion, and to compleat what the King his father had so

piously begun. Wherefore seaven reverend Bishops delivered their humble petition to His Majestie, with their reasons why they could not read his declaration; for which they were imprisoned, and the Queen in the mean time was, as was pretended, delivered of a son at St James's, the princess Ann being sent industriously out of the way to bathe. We had, I remember, a song upon it at the time, that

The Bishops were sent to the Tow'r,
The Princess went down to the Bath,
And the Queen she cried out in an hour.

To this miserable state we were reduc'd in the year 1688, when God Almighty by a miraculous providence deliver'd us, making our late most excellent and never to be forgotten prince K. William the third the glorious instrument of our preservation.

It is an observation obvious enough, that where a nation, or people is divided into factions, and the crown or government takes in with one side; that side shall in

few years time become superior and carry all before them: But if when they have gain'd their point, they know not how to use it with moderation, but are cruell and tyrannous; their victory yeildes them no other fruit than destruction of their Ministers and themselves. We in England in former dayes were divided into *Puritans* and *High Churchmen*; the Crown struck in with the latter, and for 13 or 14 years *reigned and revell'd*. But the nation grew so uneasie under it, especially upon the Massacre in Ireland, that the people rose and destroyed both the Crown and Church together.

In Cromwells dayes the Presbiterians and Independants had High factions and bickerings: Cromwell joined with the Independants, who had fair Sunshine while he lasted: but he was no sooner gone, but all their projects of Government, Cause and all were lost, and the Crown restored, to the ruin and destruction of both the contending parties.

I do myselſe well remember the begin-

ning of *Whig* and *Tory*. For the four last years of King Char. 2^d the crown may properly be said, to have been *head of a party*. The church and state were filled with Gentlemen of *high flown principles*, men that trampled under their feet the antient dear bought and long enjoy'd priviledges of their country, and who took pleasure in scing the worthyest blood of the nation powr'd forth upon scaffolds. This gave a universall discontent, which the furious driving on of King James the 2^d brought to a revolution; where one would have hop't their projects would have ended. I am sure their drawing in K. William to side with them, never advanc't His Majesties affairs. He was a prince too wise to give himselfe wholly to be govern'd by them; But if as *the common father* he had granted to all alike the protection of the lawes, distinguish't people by markes of favour *because they lov'd him*; and not made it matter of merrit *to oppose him*; certainly things had been easier to him, during his whole reign.

King William and Queen Mary.

Never was a more charitable nor a more glorious action done, than the delivering of these Nations by their late Majesties. The crown its selfe was not reward sufficient: what remains unpay'd the joyes of heaven only can satisfie. *He was a valiant, wise and good prince;* and for *the Queen*, no Princess ever had the universall affections of the Nation like her, and none so much deserv'd it. 'Tis perfectly a shame that any man calling himselfe a protestant should have opposed them, or given them the least uneasiness: yet too many such we had. How it came to be so, remaines to be declared.

The Prince of Orange was a person of profound silence and deep thought; he had for many years lived in contemplation of his expedition for England, as well knowing the nation had stood long in need of his assistance. St William Temple ownes, that his Highness had some overtures made him even in K. Ch. the 2^d dayes. He made all

the provision for it, with as much secrecy and forecast as the wisest prince or statesman in the World could do. But it seems to me, *That His Highness knew not how to divide the stag before he had taken him.* The thing he wanted was knowledge of, or being personally acquainted with, those men in the nation who were the most capable and the likeliest to serve him when he should attain the crown. There was a struggle among the convention parliament, whether he should be proclaim'd King or no? and no less than 150 members of the House of Commons went out against him, besides a considerable faction in the House of Peers. *These were all High Churchmen:* and from hence it is to be conjectured that His Majestic took the impression, that they were a very considerable party in the Kingdome. At the last, *decisive conference* between the two Houses upon this important point, none appear'd so boldly and openly against his Highnesses accession to the throne as the Earle of Nottingham. And it was to the surprize of all Mankind, that this Gentleman was the next day made Secretary of

State. The King here *platted for himself* that crown of thorns, that gaul'd him ever after. 'Twas not, God knowes, *The High Church Party* that brought him in, nor that were likely to stand by him, had there been occasion when he was here. But from this time forward, these were the men entrusted, who, *as they never were the Kings friends*; so 'tis apparent that no personall obligation could ever make them so. Many that either came over with him or soon join'd him, were neglected. Those that wish't him best could do no more than lament their own and his misfortune. The nation was universally willing; but affairs went sluggishly on both abroad and at home too. Nothing but the matchless valour of the King could have kept us up in any tolerable reputation. At length necessity forcing him to change some of His ministers, and the Great Seal given to my L^d Sommers, affairs were visibly mended for a while. But the other party had so farr wrought themselves into the knowledge of the Kings business, and so many of their creatures got into the House of Commons, that they perpetually watched

their opportunities to do mischeife: Nay the very word was, *To distress the King*. How to take them off, could not be told. But instead of what they deserv'd the King gratified them with places or with pensions, and this being found to be the way to preferment, there wanted not pretenders enough who took the same way to rise, as they had seen others thrive by. By which meanes they brought the King at last to that complacencie, that nothing could stand by or be employed under him, if but one popular or ill natured member made a noise upon him in the house of Commons. Thus the whole Ministry by degrees was changed again, the late Earle of Sunderland fore't to give up his L^d Chamberlains staffe, and the Great Seal taken away from my L^d Sommers; wherein the King gratified the lesser number of the Comons; for the most voices in the House were for my L^d.

Thus was the best of Kings worried out of his health and life. 'Tis thought, that had he lived longer, he would have cast about and distinguished his own friends

again : but God Almighty, in whose hands are the lives of princes as well as other men, was pleased to deprive us of that blessing.

Whatever his failings, or rather misfortunes were, as to these particulars, he was a gracious and Good Prince to Great Brittain in generall. He delivered us from poperie, and from slaverie at home, and stemm'd the impetuous torrent of the common enemy abroad. He fill'd the Benches both of Bishops and Judges with *upright men* in both professions, and if he hath left any thing to be added by his successors, it is because he lived not long enough, or to say more truly, because we had a perverse generation of men in place that would not suffer him.

Remedies.

Your Highnesses way to the throne is made plain by acts of parliament, unless any unforeseen accident should intervene; and therefore more than a safe and quick passage to us, when the time shall happen,

is not to be thought on. The chief thing to be consider'd now is that Your Highness may not come to us a perfect stranger: but that your freindes may be employed to give Your Highness an account what men we have, who are for their ability and good affection to the common interest fitt and proper persons to be employed under you; That neither the Royal family nor the nation be, hereafter, impos'd upon by an insidious sort of men, *that shoot at rovers, wish for they know not what, and are running they dont know whither.* 'Twas judiciously as well as pleasantly said of late by a reverend and worthy Bishop of our church: If the pretended Prince of Wales comes in, said His L^{dy}, I certainly beleive I shall be hang'd: *but it comfortes me that those men who bring him in, will in a years time hang themselves.* A good ministry settled whom the nation can confide in, will encourage the parliament to grant a plentifull revenue both to Your Highness as our Sovereign, and to the princes your sons; *who will prove not only jewells to adorn, but pillars to support the crown,* and without being burthensome to the subject, may certainly

be allow'd a maintenance, since we have given one hundred thousand pounds by the year to Prince George of Denmarke, and as the world sayes, a certain Duke and his Dutchess do enjoy between them not less than seaventie thousand more. The hopes of a succession of princes from Your Highness give new life to all that wish well to the English Monarchie, and upon this head I will humbly crave leave to add some few thoughts.

I have alreadie spoke I fear too largely upon the diminutions of the Crown and Lords estates. This with the mismanagements of corrupt, unable and ill affected ministers, hath so often provok't the nation, that too many have suck't in the leaven of commonwealth principles. But those artes being now done with; 'tis fit that every good Englishman in his station should honestly set about it, to make the crown great, the Nobility truly honourable, and the Commons with them happy. We have been now 200 years falling to peices, and perfectly disjointing our antient constitution.

It will require very *skillfull artists* to sett it well together again, *and it must be a considerable time before the body can growe up in due proportion and symetrie.*

To the crown I wish a good and ample revenue at the first; and instead of being drein'd by unsatiable favourites, or extravagant Mistresses, of whom I trust that we shall hear no more in England, that a sum of between three or four hundred thousand pounds by the year were layed up. This would purchass fifteen thousand pounds by the year of good land every year; which in about ten or fifteen years time would be a good estate of its selfe, and may be so contrived as that the nation shall take but little notice in the doing it. I would ever wish, *it might be made unalienable*, unless it were any part of it conveyed in fee, to the legitimate princes of the blood: and for them too I wish estates in land were purchass't. Whatever landes or fee farme rents belonged to the Crown in former time, I would with'all imaginable industry buy in again; and what these were and where they lye, the

bookes in the Exchequer do too fatally shew. Whatever leases have been made of the landes belonging to the Prince of Wales his estate, which is very considerable both in Wales and Cornwall, great care should be taken that they be not renewed upon too easie terms. *Half'e fine and half'e rent would be no ill rule.* And so the same for the Dutchie of Lancaster.

There ought to be a good seilt of officers chosen for the prince both of state and of revenue. There belongs to His Highness a Chancellor, an Attourney and Sollicitor Generall, which are Officers of State, besides the Stewards of his landes and domestik officers of his household. These were all extinct from the death of King Henry the Eighth, till they were revived for Prince Henry, eldest Son to King James the first; and they were persons of the highest reputation, who were appointed in these offices to him: such as were Sr Henry Hobart Chancellor and Sr Edward Coke, I take it, Attourney Generall, with, I am very sure, Maister Stephens Sollicitor. The two

first were La Cheife Justices of England in their turns; the latter dyed, either in the service or soon after it, but left a very great reputation and a good estate gain'd by his profession, which his posterity do to this time enjoy: and some of them are of the Long Robe and very valuable men. I have some reason to beleive that they have a treasure by them of their Ancestors papers and observations upon the prince his estate.

For these great men, *especially Stephens*, who had the labouring oar of it, sett themselves to enquire into the particulars of the prince their masters estate, and found profuse grants to have been made out of it by the crown, especially in Queen Elizabeths dayes, when there was no Prince of Wales in being; and *they by action in law recovered it for his Highness back again.* The prince his case in my L^d Cokes reports makes a considerable figure.

The house of Commons in King Williams reign did that service to the Royal famuly as to save a considerable part of the Prince

of Wales his estate from being granted to a certain great Lord, who had indeed but too much of the Crown estate granted him before.

Actes of resumption will, I fear, be very difficult to obtain: For that many alienations, sales and leases of the Crown landes have been made by act of parliament; that if the Crown resolves to become a great Landlord again in England, *it must be done by purchass.*

I finde the patriarch Joseph to have been a great politician at 30 years of age, as well as a great prophet. For when by divine inspiration he foresaw the seaven years of plenty, and the seaven years of famine that were to succeed them, he advised Pharaoh King of Ægypt, to lay up in store for the famine; by which means, when the people wanted bread, Joseph bought all the Land of Ægypt for Pharaoh; for the text says, Genesis the 47, v. 27: That the Ægyptians sold every man his feild, because the famine prevail'd over them. So the land became

Pharaohs. The preistes portion, it seemes, he did not touch: and for them I have a good word hereafter.

For the Nobility; 'tis really a pittie to see how many of them are reduced to very small estates: Some of them are well enough: but, I fear, the present sett must stand as they do. Only as those who have good estates can live honourably upon them: so the benign influence of the crown may and ought to enliven others who are poorer. We can not be without a house of Lords. For tho the long parliament were so mad, as to lay them aside, as useless and dangerous, yet have we lived to see the nation perfectly preserv'd and saved by the wisdom and vertue of the house of peers, as both the present and two last parliaments do sufficiently demonstrate.

In future creations I humbly offer it to your Highness as a remedie, that as the Crown is the fountain of honour, so no person should be created a peer of England hereafter, who had not amongst other preten-

tions an estate of at least 6000^l per annum; of which I could wish that 4000 were express't and registred in his pattent by the name and title of *a Barony*; and the new made peer be bound in a very great sum to the crown, that this Barony be convey'd so, as to discend upon the next heire to the honour. This would, for one discent at least, secure the estate, and the thing would growe in time into custome, that no famuly would marry a daughter to a Lords eldest son unless *the Barony were settled*. The parliament would be so wise at last perhaps as to pass it into an act: and then the Nobility would make the true figure that they ought.

Let the Commons plough and sowe, and trade, the Government must have benefit by them all, as well as the studies of those, who give themselves to learning.

Titles of honour among the Comons,

for distinctions of honour under the degree of peerage: we have some great officers,

to whom we give the style and title of my Lord, as to the L^d Keeper of the Great Seale of England, be he a peer or not, the two Chiefe Justices and L^d Chiefe Baron, and so to all the Judges both in England and in Wales within their circuits. The dignity of these is so high, that in the execution of their offices they are said to represent the King, or now the Queen. And it is high treason by the lawe for any man to slay or murder them, as they sitt in court; and a misdemeanour of the highest nature to affront them there or any where.

The highest honour antiently to be conferr'd upon an English commoner was that of *Knighthood*, and this either in regard of some great estate or of some eminent service done to their King and country. These were very sparingly distributed in former dayes. Queen Elizabeth never gave it to any in her time but the most deserving personages among the Commons; such as were S^r Francis Walsingham, S^r Robert Cecil, S^r Francis Vere, S^r Walther Raleigh, S^r Francis Drake, and some few others her

great heroes. Judges of all the benches, the Attourney and Sollicitor Generall, the Kings or Queens serjants at lawe, the Chancellor and Attourney Generall to the Prince of Wales usually do obtain it, and so the Sheriffs and L^d Mayor of London. The honour lastes no longer than for life. It gives a precedence before other Commoners of less degrec, both to the Knight and to his wife, who is from thenceforth call'd *My Lady*. But as nothing bringes a thing into contempt like makeing of it common; so this dignity so very much desir'd and coveted heretofore, is now not so much in request among persons either of birth or fortune. I have known it given to the vilest and most undeserving objects in the nation. The last man that obtain'd it in the county where I live, was a knavish Apothecarie, whose father and mother got ther living by selling ale in a cellar. He happened unaccountably to get an estate *by his trade* and was made High Sheriffe. But I am apt to thinke that Her present Majesty distinguish't rather the office than the person when she knighted him; or perhaps a com-

pliment and honour to the county, where 'twas done, might be intended. We have a greet privy counsellor among us, who knowes how to advise in those and such like cases with a *bonne grace*. This new knight is Sr Sam^l Eckley

Baronetts.

Besides these Knights above mentioned who are called Knights *Batchellors*, we have another order call'd Baronetts instituted by King James the first, with precedence to the former, and the honour to discend to the eldest son or heire according to the limitation of the pattent. This had been a very honourable order, had it continued in its first restrictions, especially as to the number. But as we have now at least a thousand if not 1500 of them, and no estate limited to discend with the honour; we have Baronetts up and down the Kingdome as poor as other Folkes. I forbear in charity to mention particulars. Persons whom their birth or better education have made gentlemen are now not fond of becoming

Baronets. I have heard it wish't by those of worth and honour that the whole order were abolish't, which may be done by the crowns declaring that none shall be here after created, and that the dignity shall dye with the persons of the present pattentees. For 'tis a perfect shame that persons who are just nothing to the state should enjoy that by their birth only *which they had neither merrit to deserve nor fortunes to support.* 'Tis now generally bought by new rais'd people who want to be made Gentlemen. I knew myselfe an old Courtier, to whom King Charles the 2^d gave a good number of blanke pattents of this sort instead of present money to reward his services; and he was allowed to fill them up as he could find chapmen to buy them. I have heard and do beleive it, that some of these pattents have been pawn'd to a taylor and there layn to be disposed off for want of money to pay for new clothes. I am myselfe now actually acquainted with a gentleman whose father was as miserable as povertie could make him, his mother selling salt in a poor country market to get her

bread by ; yet an estate accidentally raised by an Unkle, who was a common carrier, hath given this man and his wife the vanity to become a Baronet. He gave a good sum for it to the courtier before mention'd, who was S^r Herne of Cressy Hall in Lincoln Shire, father to my Lady Fraser, wife to S^r Peter now at the court of Hanover. The new made Baronett is S^r Paul Jenkinson of Walton near Chesterfeild in the county of Darby. The next degree to knighthood is an Esquire ; but the word *Gentleman*, in its true and proper signification, comprehendes every thing.

The church of England,

wherein I had the happyness to be both borne and educated, I look upon to be *the most orthodox and best constituted church in the universe* ; nor can I complain of any thing in it ; but a little want of moderation in some particular churchmen. If there be any such thing as temporal policy among them, I know nothing of the matter. I love their coat, especially when I see it in the

pulpit. The estate and possessions of the clergy are very unequally divided. This is owing to *sinecures, pluralities and non residences*, which maintain the great dignified clergy, *true High Church men, in pomp and splendour; whilst the inferior who waite more constantly at the altar, are very meanly provided in the country.* We have many hundreds of church livings in England not worth twentie pounds by the year. It was not originally so: but the misfortune happened thus.

Original of Improprations.

When King Henry the 8th dissolv'd the regular clergy, he found the monasteries seized of very great numbers of parsonages, or to say more properly, patronages or advousons. They could easiely supply the cures by monkes sent out from time to time to officiate, and the profits arising from stipends or payed in tythes accrued to the houses they belonged to. But when these houses came to be dissolved: King Henry took the parsonages to himselfe, and ei-

ther exchanged them with the cathedrall churches and colledges, for other landes of theirs, or sold them in to lay handes : so that now in many places, either the cathedralls, colledges or meer lay men do receive the tythes to their own proper use, and *the poor curate who sayes the prayers* hath scarcely bread to eate, a miserable case. I have heard that our late most excellent, Queen Mary and that worthy good prelate Archbishop Tillotson, were upon councils to have rais'd a fund to buy in these advousons and impropriations, and to have *endowed the parochiall churches with them again.* God send it one day in Your Highnesses power, and I doubt not but it will be in your inclinations, to become a tender nursing mother to the church of England.

For the Dissenters,

they'l ne're be troublesome, *if not ill used.* Kindness will sooner bring them into the church than persecution. Great noise hath been made in the world concerning these men, much hath been said and wrote against

them, and they have had much to say for themselves. The church of England, and especially the High Church party, have accounted them, at best, *but Schismaticks if not Hereticks*. They on the other hand have retalliated and said, that the Church of England men were *papists, or popishly affected*: and there hath been too much truth on both sides. For we have had a Bishop, who dyed not 60 yeares agoe, that upon his death bed declared himselfe a *Romanist*, thereby convincing the world of what they had before suspected both by the publick as well as private carriage of the man. This was Godfrey Goodman Bishop of Gloucester. And for the Dissenters they have fallen into so many divisions and subdivisions with so many frantick and extravagant opinions, that even a catalogue of the names of their severall sectes would be too long to repeat. The most noted and most numerous are the *Presbiterians* and *Independants*, who differ from the Church of England but in the rejection of liturgie, in ceremonies, habits and external forms of church discipline and go-

verment. As to points of faith, and the whole body and substance of Christianity, I could never finde, there was any material difference at all. The original of this sepe-
 ration comēced early. We had in Eng-
 land of very antient time a sort of people
 call'd *Lollards*, who differ'd from the Ro-
 man church, and were constantly perse-
 cuted by the clergy. In King Richard the
 seconds dayes, about which time happen'd
 the schisme in the papacie, one Pope living
 at Rome and the other Antipope at Avig-
 non, these people took heart, and their
 Apostle John Wickliffe, contemporary with
 John Huss and Jerome of Prague, trans-
 lated the Old and New Testament into En-
 glish, and made open profession of diverse
 substantiall doctrines and principles in op-
 position to the church of Rome; which are
 now at this day profess't and own'd by the
 whole protestant church. The great John
 of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster was Wickliff's
 patron: for which the Clergy ran so high
 against the Duke, as to forge a story *that*
his very birth was supposititious. But Gower,
 a famous English poet of that time, had yet

the boldness to write some lines in favour of the Lollards, as Chaucer at the same time was very severe upon all clergymen and nuns. But Gower gave fair warning to the Church upon their divisions in the papacie,

—————to take care of all,
For between two stools is the fall.

And I finde the Lollards to have encreased upon it, notwithstanding the vast opposition, of the Clergy. The reign of K. Henry, the 4th, who was son of this John Duke of Lancaster, was spent in much trouble upon account of the succession, and therefore we heard but little in that time of religious controversies. But in his son Henry, the 5th dayes appeared the famous S^r John Oldcastle L^d Cobham, who was a person at first highly favoured by that King. But the Clergy under Thomas de Arundell Archbishop of Canterbury got the upper hand, and continued to divert the King's minde from affairs at home: and sett him upon his expedition against the French, wherein he prov'd victorious, and gain'd immortal honour

to the English nation. But in the mean time poor Sr John Oldcastle and his freindes the *Lollards* came by the worst o'nt. Himselfe after many pürsuites and difficulties was taken and excuted, and his party so depress't that we hear little more of them, tho' they were suspected to have been 50000 strong. The oivill warrs between the *two Houses* lasted all Henry the 6th, Edward the 4th, Richard the third and Henry the 7th dayes, which silenced all these controversies, till Harry the 8th time; and then both Calvin and Lûther having appear'd in France and Germany, our English merchants brought their books and their opinions with them into England. And *William Tindale*, born in my own parish of North Nibley in Gloucester Shire, went over to Antwerp, and there printed a much more compleat translation of the Old and New Testament than had been done before by Wickliffe. The book is yet extant tho' not very common, and is allowed to be very exact after the original, tho' the language be plain and now grown obsolete. The author had the misfortune by the violence

of the English Clergy, and their correspondence with their own order abroad, to be apprehended in Flandres, and was burn'd at *Vilvord* for an *Arch Heretick* under the Emperor Charles the fifth. Fires were at the same time kindled in England, and many a pious Soule, of both Sexes, expired in Smithfeild and other places, in the flames.

During these persecutions diversè Englishmen well learn'd, fled into Germany and Switzerland, and there join'd with the reformed churches, at the same time holding correspondence with and comforting their freindes in England. King Henry the eighth's quarrel with the Pope and destroying all the regular Clergy, gave some hopes to the Reform'd; tho the King was yet very severe to all new opinions, as they were then term'd. Not only monkes and friars, but such as Bishop Fisher and S^r Thomas Moor, who had been L^d Chancellor, were executed for denying the King's Supremacy; yet at the same time multitudes were burn'd as hereticks for the new opinions.

Thus stood affaires as to Religion in England till King Harry dyed: and by that time, the farr greater part of the nation being protestants in their hearts, the Duke of Sommerset L^d Protector during the minority of King Edward the 6^m, not only declared himselfe a protestant, but took care to breed the King up in the same Religion. But it was no easie matter to bring the Clergy to a compliance. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Bonner Bishop of London, those vile incendiaries and common executioners, as they prov'd afterwards in Queen Mary's dayes, were now living, and the Government forc't to confine them both in prison. The liturgie to this day used in the church of England was but the mass translated into English, and so declar'd by the King himselfe to his subjects in the west, who rose in arms upon the change, as they did in Lincolne Shire and in Norfolke. The idolatrous and superstitious part was with great piety as well as judgment left out. The Government and Higher powers went however but slowly on with the busieness. But persecution being

ceased, the English fugitives returned, and with them the famous Dr Hooper, whom King Edward made Bishop of Gloucester. The good man would not be consecrated after the manner still in use, nor would he wear the pall nor popish vestments. With much difficulty he obtained a dispensation, but to the great disgust of the other Clergy, especially of Dr Ridley Bishop of London; tho both of them afterwards passed through the fire for the same cause, as did Bishop Latimer; and all three with Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, with diverse other bishops, became glorious martyrs for the protestant faith in Queen Mary's days.

The first division among the English protestants may be dated in great measure from this difference between Ridley and Hooper. The latter had convers'd abroad with Calvin, Zuinglius and those first Reformers who were for a perfect *Thorough Reformation*; which Ridley, tho a sincere protestant, could not come up to, *and it may be the times themselves would not bear it*; so that

much of the old *Mumpsimus**, as King Harry the 8th call'd it in his last speech to his parliament, was retein'd ; so much indeed that many numerous and great congregations in Queen Elizabeths dayes seperated from the national established Church of England, and rather than endure the surplice ceremonies or the liturgie *which they look't upon as raggs of poperie and the English mass*; they set up congregations of their own, wherein they thought they serv'd God *more purely* without either ; and from hence they were distinguished by the name of *Puritans*. The Queen, who would never abate any thing of grandeur in Church or State, stood by the clergy, and Dr Whitgift first Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterburie, proved adverse to the Puritans, who were a numerous and stiffe-neck't body of people. Had the Government been on their side, I helieve that further advances had been made towards a reformation, in better order and with more advantage to all parties than what fell out at last.

* Ld Herberts History of K. H. 8th.

This was the state of religion here, when King James the first attain'd the Empire of Great Brittain and Ireland.

His Majestie had been bred up in Scotland under the severe discipline of his tutor George Buchanan, and been too much thwarted in his youth by the overrigid principles and practices of the Scottish Clergy, who ran even to extreams in their reformation. The King glad to get out of such handes, when he came into England, *ever hated them*, and stuck to *the Church of England*. This gave the clergy such a preheminnence, that all that Kings dayes, and for 12 or 13 years of his sonns the poor Puritans lay under persecution, till the warr broke out, and then they got uppermost themselves. They held it till the restoration of King Charles the second; and then, by falling into parties, distinguished by the names of *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, they fell all to peices and the King obtain'd to be restor'd by it.

His Majestie immediately set up the

Church of England, and restored them all their landes, which the avarice of the other parties during *The Times* had devour'd and swallowed. The prisons now were filled with the dissenting preachers and their chiefe followers; all their rebellions ripp't up and cast in their faces, nothing but persecution raged for many years together and severall lawes made against them almost every session: till the court, to serve a popish interest, and to lessen the credit of the English Clergy, granted them an indulgence in the year 1670. But this being soon seen through by both parties, the indulgence was withdrawn, and the former lawes against them put in execution, till the breaking forth of the popish plott in 1678. The parliament then falling upon the Duke of Yorke, the Dissenters hoping for better dayes struck in with them, and for some time had better quarter. But when King Charles dissolved the Oxford parliament and never called any more: then the lawes were let loose at them again, till about the second year of King James the 2^d.

That King had two points to gain by

the Dissenters : the one was to indulge them by a toleration, whereby he might lessen the Church of England, who were *a sore plague to him and his popish Clergy*, whom *they* out-preach't, outwrote, and outdisputed, and in all controversies made them fools, and expos'd their ignorance, and want of learning. The other was, that as the judges had declared the King to be invested with a dispensing power, his Majestic might very plausibly make use of it to oblige such vast numbers of people, who had so long smarted under the penalties of many severe lawes upon account of conscience only. If the dispensing power might serve for this, why not for any thing else? It went down with the Dissenters, and their meetings of all sorts were again set open. His Majestic at the same time received addresses from all parts of the Kingdom upon the occasion, and undoubtedly thought he had gain'd his point. But the thing turned to his utter ruin. For the Dissenters were not such fools, but that they sawe that the King intended to indulge his own religion as much, against which the lawes were yet more severe, and this must have brought in popery directly. The

Church of Englands eyes were opened, and *the whole Nation looked upon the dispensing power to be the loss of all their liberties at once.* This gave rise to the petition of the 7 Bishops, and made such a defection in the very army as well as in the city and country, that the Prince of Orange was every where received with open armes.

His Highness was no sooner made King, but he granted the Bill of Rights to the English subjects in generall; and for the Dissenters they have new lawes made in their favour; and all penalties and persecutions against them are ceased.

The men have really behaved themselves as loyally to the Crown since, and been as cordial to the true interest of the nation and as free of their purses to all publick taxes or to lend their money to the publick, as any subjects whatsoever; wherfore to fall upon them without provocation, as was done this last parliament, was a great mistake. Had the Bill pass't, we had been all in confision; and our enemies had made the

advantage. A very small majority in the house of Peers saved all, wherein the more part of the bishops, to their great honour, shewed themselves *wise* and *moderate*. I cannot but be persuaded that the Presbyterians especially, and the Independants too, will one day come in the Church of England of themselves: a little more *continued moderation* and some small abatements of things, which the Highest Churchmen wont dare to say are essentiall to religion, would do the busieness: provided the Church of England would do it of themselves. The crown could never lose but infinitely gain by allowing it. The memory of former persecutions will be, and is alreadie, buried in the graves of those that suffered under them. Their old teachers Baxter, Bates, Owen, and the rest of their great men are dead and gone. The age is not so zealous, nor have we the approaching fears of poperie to excite them.

Other Dissenters we have, as the Anabaptists, but they are not very numerous nor dangerous; many other sectes, as the Adamites that went naked, Brownists and

Sweet Singers of Israell. They are almost extinguished and their names only remain. But the most ridiculous and yet the most dangerous sect we have among us, is *The Quakers*. I could write much concerning this sort of people, but it hath been so incomparably well done by a late author, that I neither would forestall nor rob Your Highness of the pleasure of reading the book in print call'd *The Snake in the grass*, which I therefore humbly presume to send in the same pacquett with this, accompanied with my old freind *Hudibras*, who as he hath been the delight of the present age, so will he never be outdone by the next, nor any that shall come after. King Charles the second vallued him beyond any English poet that ever wrote.

It is now time for me to aske pardon for giving Your Highness so long and tedious a trouble. 'Tis what my affection to my native country and sincere regard to the service of Your Highness and Your illustrious House have drawn from me. I am for my own part but a private person, and am too

conscious of my want of ability ever to hope to rise to any great or eminent employment. But whatever circumstance the good providence of God shall leave me in, I shall ever send up my heartie prayers for Your Highnesses long Life, and for the prosperity of Your Royal progenie, to whome I remain while life lastes,

Madame,

Your Highnesses

most humble, most obed^t,

and most devoted serv^t,

G. S.

*From my Lodgings at Lambeth,
May 15th, O. S. 1703.*

LETTERS.

LETTERS.



N^o. I.

May it please Your Electorall Highness,

I HAVE not given my selfe the honour to appear before Your El. H^s. in this manner for some months. I was then in my diocese, which produced nothing that was worth the troubling Your El. H^s. We have now a parliament sitting that expresses a zeal for the King and his Government farre beyond what has hitherto appeared in any session during this Reigne, nothing will be left undone by them that is necessary either to make a good warre or a just and honorable peace. The French seem to make advances towards a peace, but we have all the reason to beleive that there is a new company of assassins come over to try to end the warre in a short tho infamous method. This makes us conclude that the great preparations at Brest are designed like those last year at Calais to move when the

stroke shall be given. The King is more carefull than he used to be, but this barbarous way of making warre is a great reproach both to those princes who set it on and to that religion which encourages them to it. We hope God who discovered and disappointed their designs last year will still preserve us from such black practises. We have been in great straits by the recoining the money, which the clipping the old species had made necessary; if it had not been for that unhappy accident, we feel that we grow no poorer, but rather richer by the warre. We have a strong fleet at Sea, and fear nothing but assassination. We have been in some apprehension of a breach in Holstein, it is a great happines that our Enemies are disappointed there. The King maintains still a tranquillity which amases all people, for tho severall examinations shew that many are at work to destroy him, he expresses no anxiety nor any other concern but that he suffers those about him to guard him more exactly then formerly. It is very likely that these are the last efforts of our Enemies, so that probably if they miscarry, the negotiations of peace will be carried on more vigorously; tho it is very likely that those who make warre in so perfidious a manner, will have more advantages by the correspondence that a peace must open to prosecute their designs. Men capable of such things are to be equally mistrusted in peace as well as in warre. When there is a fur-

ther view of our matters to be given to Your El. H^s. I will take the liberty to give Your El. H^s. a new trouble, but will presume no more at present but to acknowledge myselfe to be with the profoundest respect and the most perfect duty possible,

may it please Your Electorall Highness,

Your El. H^s. most humble,

most devoted, and most obedient servant,

GI. SARUM.

Westminster, the 15th Decr. O. S. 1696.

N^o. II.

The following French letter is a translation of an English one from Bishop Burnet to the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, made by Leibnitz. It is found among Leibnitz's correspondence: the English original is not preserved in the library.

MADAME,

SI j'avois trouvé de la matière propre à entretenir on à amuser V. A. E. j'aurois taché d'en profiter pour reconnoître l'honneur que V. A. E. m'a fait de m'écrire de l'onzieme du Janvier dernier. Mais les affaires ne vont pas assez bien ici pour qu'on prenne plaisir de les raconter ou entendre raconter. Je compare souvent le Roy et le parlement avec le mari et la femme, dont ceux qui sont les plus heureux ont quelques mauvais moments. Mais ils demeurent toujours amis à la fin, et oublient ce qui s'est passé. La racine du mal est quand l'un ne s'étudie pas de s'accommoder au temperament de l'autre. Le Roy de même ne s'accommode pas assez au genie de la nation qui est ouverte et n'aime point les froideurs et reserves. Ce-cy, joint aux absences frequentes de Sa M^{te} hors de l'Angleterre engendre de mauvaises humeurs. Il

semble que la Residence est aussi necessaire à un Roi qu'à un Evêque ; et les Republicains profitent de ces absences, pour en inferer que la nation se passe déjà d'un Roi la moitié de l'année.

Je voudrois que M. le Vasseur * n'eût d'embarras plus grands, que de justifier les lettres de Vargas ; il les avoit eu avec lui à la Haye et montré à tous ceux qui les vouloient voir. Elles ont été quelque temps entre mes mains, on ne sauroit mettre en doute qu'elles sont authentiques. Mais il a d'autres sur les bras pour l'histoire de Louis XIII. qu'il a commencé et qu'il a dessein de continuer jusqu'à notre temps. Il a pris la liberté de faire quelques reflexions sur le gouvernement de France, qui ont fait du bruit. Cependant les Ambassadeurs de France ici et en Hollande n'en ont point parlé. C'est le plus habile homme de ce temps qui ait quitté l'Eglise Romaine. Je suis bien aise d'apprendre que le neuvieme Electorat s'établit de plus en plus ; ce qui fera que l'Electeur aura dorenavant les mains plus libres. Ce sera un grand malheur si une guerre nouvelle commence dans le Nord. Tous les princes protestans seront en-

* So the name is written in the manuscript. The author here alluded to is Vasson, who published a History of the reign of Louis XIII. and likewise Letters and Memoirs of Fr. de Vargas, concerning the Council of Trent.

gagés ; ainsi de quelque côté que puisse être l'avantage le parti protestant y perdra.

Notre Maison des Cõmunes a été portée par la continuation des violences de la France à faire des loix severes contre les papistes, qui les chasseront tous en peu d'années, si les choses continuent sur ce pied là. On travaille à unir maintenant l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse, mais je doute d'un bon succes, les manieres d'agir violentes etant plus propres à aigrir et à desunir.

Je ne sai si V. A. R. est de l'humeur de dormir de Juan d'Austria qui se faisoit lire les nouvelles etranger pour s'endormir. Si ma lettre serroit à cela, elle seroit bien employée, pourvu qu'elle fasse encore souvenir V. A. E. du plus profond respect avec lequel je suis,

Madame, de V. A. E.

votre très humble

et très obeissant serviteur,

GI. SARUM.

Nº. III.

Burnet to Leibnitz.

DEAR SIR,

I KNOW I cannot do the Earle of Macclesfield* a more usefull as well as more acceptable service than to introduce him into the acquaintance of one who is now the glory not only of the court of Brunswick but of the whole German Empire: Men who are very eminent in any one great thing may justly reckon that they may well neglect all other things. But it is very extraordinary and may be justly reckoned among the wonderfull Phenomena of the Age, that one man should excell in all sciences. Mathematics, Philosophy, Law, History and Politicks do not exhaust a Genius that seemes born to let the world see to what one man can attain. And yet after all this you seem to have studied Theology as if you had minded nothing else. When I tell you so freely what justice all the world does you, you will easily beleive that it gave me no small satisfac-

* Who delivered the act of succession to the court of Hanover.

tion to find that my book which I took the liberty to send you, was so well liked by so great a man and so true a judge. I am glad to find that it is like to be of some use in order to the softning the sharpness that is among your Divines, particularly in the matters of Predestination. The court of Brunswick is now so entirely united to ours upon the justice which the King and Parliament have done in declaring the right of succession, that I hope we shall agree in this as well as in every thing else to promote an agreement among all that are Enemies to Popery, in order to the defending ourselves against the common Enemy. The present state of affairs opens to us a great crisis; for either the K. of France will arrive at the much longed for universall Monarchy, or by grasping at too much, as Spain did above an age agoe, he may fall under a feebleness like that to which we see Spain now reduced. The warre in Italy is that upon which all mens eyes are now set; when the Imperialists are once fixed there in some important places, and are sure of winter quarters, affairs every where else will put on another face. Our Parliament here has ended much better than was expected. The practices of the French were as visible here as in many other courts, and have been so skillfully managed, that we have been much embroiled by them; yet the Genius of the Nation worked so strongly towards a warre, that it could not be re-

sisted. I will not enter further into our affairs but leave them to the noble bearer, or such about him with whom you may fall into free conversation. I beg leave to assure you, that no man honours, loves and respects you more, than he who is with a most particular esteem,

dear Sir,

your most humble

and most obedient servant,

GIL. BISHOP OF SARUM.

Salisbury, 30 June, 1701.

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N^o. IV.

Letter from Leibnitz to Burnet, which, though perhaps not the answer to the one preceding, yet bears a reference to it, and is, besides, interesting from its content..

MILORD, *

J'ESPERE que vous aurez reçu la lettre que je me suis donné l'honneur de vous écrire par la voye de M. le Comte de Macesfield, qui s'en est chargé. Je vous donne maintenant avis par celle-cy d'un paquet que je vous envaye par Mons. Sandys, chapelain de l'Ambassade. Dans ce paquet vous trouverez deux exemplaires de l'ouvrage sur le Concile de Costance, que Monseigneur le Duc Rudolfe Auguste de Bronsuic, aîné de deux freres regens de la branche de Wolfenbutel, prince très zélé pour la religion protestante, a fait imprimer. Comme S. A. S. vous est obligé de ce que vous aviez eu la bonté de contribuer, elle m'a chargé de vous en remercier de nouveau de sa part, et de vous

* Sur ce que Leibnitz ne repondoit pas en Anglois il s'explique dans une autre lettre à Burnet de la maniere suivante. Je reponds en François—J'entends passablement l'Anglois pour pouvoir recevoir vos ordres en cette langue.

envoyer un exemplaire pour vous et un autre pour le savant Bibliothecaire de Cambridge, qui avoit pris la peine d'envoyer des communications sur un MS. de cette Université, que je vous supplie, Milord, de lui faire tenir par occasion. Quoique j'aie fait obtenir à Mr. Hard, professeur de Helmstat, editeur de ces collections et très habile homme des Msts envoyés de plusieurs endroits, neansmoins je ne suis pas content en toutes choses de l'edition, et j'aurois mieux aimé, qu'on n'eût point voulu grossir l'ouvrage par certaines pièces de moindre valeur ny tant multiplier les titres ; et qu'on y eût joint plutôt un abrégé historique qui auroit mieux montré l'usage de tous les ingrediens. Mais—*est aliquid prodire tenus*. Ce qu'on a donné ne laissera pas de servir, conformément à la vue du prince qui a été de montrer, comment Dieu a préparé les choses au grand ouvrage de la réformation. S'il avoit assez de gens propres à le seconder, et peut-être aussi s'il étoit moins âgé, il feroit travailler de même sur le concile de Bâle et les autres qui ont suivi jusqu'à Luther et il feroit encore donner au public quantité de notices importantes qui ont échappé à Mr. de Seckendorf lorsqu'il a fait son histoire.

J'ai joint aussi pour vous, Milord, dans le même paquet quelques livres que j'ai donnés au public, où j'avoue de n'avoir presque point et autre

part que d'avoir amassé des matériaux, surtout pour l'histoire et les affaires publiques, qui pourront être de quelque utilité ; que je vous supplie de recevoir comme une marque de ma reconnaissance.

Milord Maclesfield m'a marqué beaucoup de bonté, sur votre recommandation sans doute, dont je vous suis bien obligé. Il a emporté avec lui l'estime de tout le monde, mais surtout de Madame l'Electrice, de M. l'Electeur et de M. le Duc de Zell. On convient qu'il a des sentimens très nobles et très généreux qui tendent au bien de la patrie et à la gloire du Roi. On nous dit que ceux qui ont été ici sont des Whigs. Mais je n'entends pas donc plus ce que c'est que d'être Whig et Tory. Si c'est Whig que d'être du parti du peuple et Tory d'être de celui de la cour, je trouve ces Messieurs qui ont été ici, hors de faction, et de parti ; car ils me paroissent aussi zélés pour la gloire et l'autorité du Roi que pour la liberté de la nation. Ils considerent que la liberté n'est autre chose que la sureté du coté du dedans, qui n'a jamais été moins en danger ; et qu'ainsi il est tems de penser à la sureté par rapport à l'extérieur, qui n'a jamais été plus en danger. Ils m'assurent aussi que les provinces ouvrent les yeux là-dessus, et en effet leurs addresses le temoignent. Tout ce que je souhaite le plus c'est qu'on profite bien de l'ardeur qui paroît être dans les esprits, et

qu'on s'en serve d'une manière bien efficace pour la bonne cause. Il me paroît que celà est encore possible. J'avoue pourtant que la chose est assez difficile, et que le Roy a besoin d'être soulagé dans l'exécution de ses grands et bons desseins par des personnes d'un genie élevé, de beaucoup de vigueur, d'une exactitude et fidélité très grande. Ces qualités sont nécessaires pour reparer le défaut inséparable d'un gouvernement qui n'est pas despotique, et pour balancer en quelque façon le grand avantage de la France, où tout est concerté et exécuté avec beaucoup d'ordre, de secret et de ponctualité. C'est ce qui m'a toujours fait dire, que la France a moins besoin de grands hommes ; au lieu que des genies ordinaires ne nous suffisent pas ; car dans le bon parti on a besoin de lutter contre mille difficultés dont les François sont exemts. Vous avez grande raison de dire, Milord, que les affaires sont dans une crise qui doit ou faire craindre l'esclavage de l'Europe ou faire espérer l'abaissement de la France, laquelle pourra se repentir d'avoir trop embrassé en violant le traité de partage ; puisqu'elle est obligée maintenant, pour secourir partout les Espagnols, de dissiper ses forces, et de faire sortir l'argent hors du pays bien plus que dans les guerres passées. Si chacun fait le sien, Dieu fera le reste. Je voudrois que toute l'Allemagne fût disposée comme l'est notre cour ; il s'en faut beaucoup. Mais j'espère que, si on s'y prend comme il

fait dans le bon parti, la saison de négociations, qui est la *Winter-campagne*, pourra être aussi heureuse en deçà que j'espère qu'elle le sera chez vous. Mais il n'y a point de temps à perdre : Votre mérite, votre zèle et votre autorité seront toujours d'un grand poids à la cour et dans le parlement, pour mieux faire goûter les bons conseils, que Dieu veuille faire prospérer. Je vous recommande à sa protection, et je suis avec beaucoup d'ardeur et obligation,

Milord,

votre très humble

et très obéissant serviteur,

LEIBNITZ.

No. V.

Burnet to Leibnitz.

MOST HONORED AND DEAR SIR,

I SEND you by the Lord Halifax the book that you were pleased to send me with your learned and ingenious notes upon it, and acknowledge you have done me a great deal of honour in them. My designe was to be as short as was possible and to take no side, but to state the arguments of both sides as strongly and as impartially as I could. So the joining to any side in answering them goes quite contrary to my designe, and may provoke an answer on the other side, by which my pacifick designe shall be lost. Thus I return you the book with my sense of the notes. I write more particularly on this occasion to recommend this Lord to your acquaintance, besides his many other great qualities and abilities, he has been a true Mccenas and promoter of Learning, as he is very learned himself. I have assured him of a particular and pleasant entertainment from your conversation ;

as I am sure you will be much delighted with his, so I will detain you no longer from it than to assure you that I am with great esteem and respect,

honorable Sir,

your most humble

and most obedient servant,

GI. SARUM.

London, the 10th Aprile, 1706.

N°. VI.

Answer from Leibnitz.

MYLORD,

JE vous suis obligé très sensiblement de la bonté que vous avez eue de vouloir joindre encore une raison à tant d'autres que j'avois de marquer mes respects à Mylord Halifax, dont le merite superieur se fait aisément reconnoître par tout et a frappé toute notre cour.

Je suis aussi bien aise que mes remarques vous ont paru meriter plus d'éloges que je n'oserois leur attribuer ; quoique elles ne se renferment pas dans votre dessein qui étoit de représenter la force et la plausibilité des raisons de deux partis pour les préparer à la tolérance ; au lieu que le mien a été de passer plus avant et de diminuer l'opposition même des sentimens ; en faisant voir que non seulement l'apparence mais encore la vérité même se trouve plus souvent de part & d'autre qu'il ne semble d'abord. Ce n'est pas détruire ce que vous bâtissez, mais bâtir sur votre fonds et tâcher de faire des progrès peu à peu en profitant des lumières que

vous avez repandues sur toute cette matière, lorsque vous avez réuni beaucoup de bonnes choses dans ce petit espace, comme font certains miroirs par rapport aux rayons du soleil. Je suis avec respect et vénération,

Mylord,

votre très humble

et très obéissant serviteur,

LEIBNITZ.

Hanover, ce 24 Juin, 1706.

The following note written by Leibnitz, and found with the preceding letters, is added, as it tends to illustrate some points touched upon in those letters.

DOCTRINA prudentiae et moderationis plena, quam a Metropolitanis Regni Angliae, ab Episcopo Wigornensi nuper defuncto et aliis compluribus Episcopis et Theologis insignibus approbatam proposuit *Dñus Episcopus Sarisberiensis in Isugoga sua ad explicationem Articulorum Ecclesiae Anglicanae circa obligationem Articulos tenendi*, haec est :

Distingui debet inter *Articulos fidei et doctrinae*, itemque inter *Clericos* seu docentes et *Laicos* seu docendos, *Articulos fidei* (scilicet strictius sic dictos) eos intelligi par est qui consentur fundamentales, seu ad salutem necessarii; et hi tum Laico quam Clerico sunt tenendi.

Qui vero errant aut dissentiunt circa *Articulos mere doctrinales*, sed fundamentum tamen tenent, nec quicquam intolerabile superstruunt, ii non ideo a cōmunionē Ecclesiae recedere possunt aut excludi debent. Etsi a docendi in Ecclesia officio, pro gravitate erroris, praesertim si ille Articulis publicam Ecclesiae sententiam complexis sit contrarius, merito submoucantur.

THE FRENCH LETTERS TRANSLATED.

Translation of N^o. II.

MADAM,

IF I had found any matter fit to entertain or amuse Your Electoral Highness, I should have profited by it, in order to acknowledge the honour which Your Electoral Highness has done me by writing to me on the 11th of January last. But things do not go on here sufficiently well that one either should take a pleasure in relating them, or in hearing them related. I often compare the King and the Parliament to a man and his wife, of whom even those who are the most happy have some unpleasant moments. But they still remain friends at last, and forget what has past. The evil springs from this, that the one does not study to accommodate himself to the temper of the other. Neither does the King accommodate himself to the character of the nation, which is open, and does not like coldness and reserve. This, joined to the frequent absence of his Majesty from England, begets ill

humour. It seems that residence is as necessary for a King as it is for a Bishop; and the republicans profit by this absence to infer, that the nation can already do without a king for one half of the year.

I wish Mr. Vassor may have no greater difficulty than to justify the letters of Vargas; he had them with him at the Hague, and shewed them to every one who wished to see them. They were for some time in my hands: one cannot doubt of their being authentic. But he has got others for the history of Lewis XIII, which (history) he has begun, and designs to bring down to our time. He has taken the liberty of making some reflections on the government of France, which have made some noise: however, the ambassadors of France both here and in Holland have taken no notice of them. This is the ablest man of the present time who has left the church of Rome. I am very glad to hear that the ninth Electorate gets more and more established; which will bring it about, that the Elector will henceforth have his hands more free. It will be a great misfortune if a new war begins in the North. All the protestant princes will be engaged in it; so that on whatever side the advantage may be, the protestant party will be a loser by it. Our House of Commons has been induced, by the continuance of the violent measures of France, to enact

severe laws against the papists, which will drive them all away within a few years if things go on in this manner. Pains are taken, at present, to unite England and Scotland, but I doubt of success; violent proceedings being more apt to exasperate and to disunite.

I do not know whether Your Royal Highness is in the same humour for sleeping as Don Juan of Austria, who got the foreign news to be read to him when he wanted to go to sleep. If my letter were to answer this purpose it would be well employed, provided it also reminds Your Electoral Highness of the profound respect with which I am,

Madam,

Your Electoral Highnesses

most humble and most obedient servant,

GI. SARUM.

Translation of N^o. IV.

MY LORD,

I HOPE you have received the letter which I did myself the honour of writing to you by the Earl of Macclesfield, who took charge of it. By the present I am to apprize you of a parcel which I am sending to you by Mr. Sandys, chaplain to the embassy. In this parcel you will find two copies of the work on the Council of Constance, which His Highness the Duke Rodolphus Augustus of Brunswick, the elder of the two regent brothers, of the branch of Wolfenbittel, a prince very zealous for the protestant religion, has caused to be printed. As His Serene Highness is under obligation to you for what you have had the goodness to contribute, he has charged me to thank you again in his name, and to send you a copy for yourself, and another for the learned librarian of Cambridge (who had taken the trouble of sending over an account of a manuscript of that university), which I entreat your Lordship to convey to him when you have an opportunity. Though I have been the means of procuring for Mr. Hard, professor at Helmstaedt, editor of these collections, and a very able man,

manuscripts sent from different places, I am nevertheless not satisfied, in every respect, with the edition; and I should have been better pleased if they had not swelled the work by certain pieces of inferior value, nor so much multiplied the titles; and if they had rather subjoined an historical abridgment, which would have better shown the use of all those materials. But—*est aliquo prodire tenus*. What has been given will not fail to serve the views of the Prince, which were to show how God had prepared things for the great work of the reformation. If he had people enough to second him, and perhaps, also, if he were less old, he would, in the same manner, get them to work at the Council of Basil, and others, which have followed one another to the time of Luther: and he would likewise cause to be published a great deal of information which has escaped M. de Seckendorf when he composed his history.

I have also added for your Lordship, in the same parcel, some books which I have published, wherein I acknowledge myself not to have almost any other share than by having collected materials, especially for history and public affairs, which may be of some use: which (books) I request you to accept as a mark of my gratitude.

My Lord Macclesfield has shown me much

kindness, in consequence, undoubtedly, of your recommendation, for which I am greatly obliged to you. He has taken with him the esteem of every one, but particularly that of her Highness the Electoress, of the Elector, and the Duke of Zell. All agree that he is possessed of truly noble and magnanimous sentiments, which tend to the welfare of his country, and to the glory of his king. We are told that those who have been here are Whigs : but I no longer understand what it is to be a Whig or a Tory. If to be a Whig means to be of the party of the people, and a Tory to be of that of the court, I find these gentlemen who have been here exempt from all faction and party; for they appear to me to be as much interested for the glory and authority of the king as for the liberty of the nation. They consider that liberty is nothing else but security from within, which never has been less in danger; and that, therefore, it is time to think of security in relation to external affairs, which has never been in greater danger. They also assure me that the country opens its eyes to the subject, and, indeed, the addresses prove it. All I wish is, that advantage may be taken of the ardour which seems to prevail in the minds, and that it may be made use of in an efficient manner for the good cause. It seems to me that this is still possible. I confess, however, that the thing is somewhat difficult, and that the King ought to be supported

in the execution of his great and good designs by men of distinguished talents, of vigour, and of great diligence and fidelity. These qualities are necessary to repair the defects inseparable from a government which is not absolute, and to counterbalance, in some manner, the great advantage of France, where every thing is planned and executed with a great deal of order, secrecy, and promptness. This is what has always made me say that France stands less in need of great men: whereas men of ordinary abilities are not sufficient for us; for on the good side we are obliged to struggle with a thousand difficulties from which the French are exempt. You have good reason, my Lord, to say that affairs are arrived at a crisis which must make us fear either the servitude of Europe, or cause us to hope for the depression of France, which may repent of having grasped at too much by breaking the partition treaty; since she is now obliged, in order to assist the Spaniards every where, to scatter her forces, and to send the money out of the country much more than in the former wars. If every one does his duty, God will do the rest. I wish the whole of Germany were disposed as our court is; but of this much is wanting. I hope, however, if they act as they ought on the good side, the season for negotiating, which is *the winter campaign*, may be as fortunate on this side of the water as I hope that it will be with you. But there is no time to be lost.

Your merit, your zeal, and your authority will always be of great weight at court and in parliament, to forward those good councils which, God grant, may prosper. I commend you to His protection, and am, with great warmth and sincerity, .

My Lord,

your Lordship's

most humble and obedient servant,

LEIBNITZ.

Hanover, September 10th, 1701.

Translation of N^o. VI.

MY LORD,

I AM very sensibly obliged by the kindness which you have had in wishing to add still another reason to those many I had already. for showing my respect to my Lord Halifax, whose superior merit is soon recognized every where, and has struck our whole court.

I am happy that my remarks have appeared to you to deserve more praise than I should venture to bestow upon them myself, although they do not come within your design, which was to represent the force and plausibility of the reasonings of both parties, in order to dispose them to toleration: whereas mine has been to go even farther, and to diminish the very contrariety of sentiments, by showing that not only appearance, but also truth itself, is more frequently found, on either side, than it seems at first. It is not destroying what you have built, but building on your foundation, and trying to advance gradually, by profiting of the light which you have spread over this matter, hav-

ing brought together many good things in this little space, as certain mirrors do with regard to the rays of the sun. I am, with respect and veneration,

My Lord,
your Lordship's most humble
and most obedient servant,

LEIBNITZ.

Hanover, June 24th, 1706.

THE END.

Most Honored and Dear Sir

I send you by the Lord Halifax the book that you were pleased to send me with your learned and ingenious notes upon it, and acknowledge you have done me a great deal of honour in them. My designe was to be as short as was possible and take no side but to state the Arguments of both sides as strongly and as Impartially as I could. So that coming to any one side in answering them goes quite contrary to my designe and may provoke an answer on the other side by which my purpose designe will be lost. Thus I return you the book with my sense of the Notes I write more particularly on this occasion to recommend the Lord to your acquaintance Besides his many other great qualities and abilities, he has been a true Mercurius and promoter of Learning as he is very learned himselfe I have assured ^{you} of a particular and pleasant entertainment from your conversation as I am sure you will be much delighted with his so. I will detain you no longer from it than to assure you that I am with great esteem and Respect

Yours the
Honorable Sir
10th April
1706

your most humble and most
obedient servant
C. Latimer

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(1) Rev. No. 42, p. 378.—(2) Monthly Rev. Feb. p. 114.—
(3) Quarterly Rev. No. 19, p. 243.—(4) British Critic, April, p. 309.
(5) Eccl. Rev. May, p. 491.—(6) Quarterly Rev. No. 19, p. 241.
(7) British Rev. No. 10, p. 391.—(8) Monthly Rev. Feb. p. 116.—
(9) British Rev. No. 10, p. 391.—(10) Monthly Rev. May, p. 39.

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